Twelve Centuries of Jewish Persecution

Quincy Pendleton

6.28.06.

Library of the Theological Seminary,

PRINCETON, N. J.

Division DS141
.P35

Section

S. M.
150

TWELVE CENTURIES

OF

Jewish Persecution,

A brief outline of the

Sufferings of the Hebrew race in Christian lands, together

with some account of the different

laws and specific restrictions under which they have,

at various times, been placed.

OFT HUMILIATED: NEVER UNHALLOWED.

GUSTAV PEARLSON.

HULL:

JAMES LIGHTOWLER, ALBION PRESS, 32, SCALE LANE.

1898.

"Not a single Christian people has kept itself clear from the reproach of inhumanity to the Jews: to afflict them has been held a merit. The times when religion has been most rife and the conscience most sensitive have witnessed their sharpest scourgings. Men and women, chivalrous, and saintly, have denounced and wrung the Jew, almost in proportion to their chivalry and sanctity, and this has endured almost to the present hour. Richard Coeur de Lion, St. Louis of France, Ferdinand and Isabella, Luther, Savanarola, Maria Theresa: yet how great is the debt of civilization to these men so cruelly hounded!"

Prof. Hosmer, "The Jews," p. 139, 140.

PREFACE.

"Ah me! my words but demonstrate the poor
Rude soul of me thus daring to discourse,
So lowly in the presence of such greatness;
But the great cause will justify my speech,
And put to silence all who dare suppose
My boldness will offend."

"*Cervantes, in Trato del Argel.*"

The Jew of to-day occupies a position in the eyes of Europe perhaps unique in history; at no time has a class been submitted to such a fierce and searching examination. The attention of every grade of society is directed towards him and he is rapidly becoming a cynosure of observation from all sides. His ideals, habits, customs, traits, virtues, foibles, and defects are being loudly discussed and various conclusions are arrived at. Metaphysicians, sociologists, and thinkers are sinking the probe of inquiry deeply into the causes which lead a people to isolate itself behind a cold, uninviting and inaccessible barrier. Jewish separatism, it is contended, is a psychological condition in diametrical opposition to the received iconoclastic tendencies of the times; a social enigma. Re-adjustment, assimilation, toleration, enforced separatism, total extirpation are all among the antithetical anodynes prescribed. It is viewed by many as an inexplicable phenomenon, an undesirable survival of the Dark Ages, that a hounded and homeless race of martyrs who have for nineteen centuries been the plaything of the winds should desire to preserve their identity unimpaired. Of widely diverse nature are the theories of the leaders of human thought anent the Jews; whilst some ascribe to them every flagrant vice and imperfection, and assert that they must inevitably be swamped away by the surging tides of materialism and scepticism, others loudly impeach Society, Christianity, Religion, for their cruel intolerance and suggest a *rapprochement*. Should the Jew merge his identity into that of other peoples? Is he to be tolerated? Has he a case against Society? Is he to be allowed to maintain his position of racial solidarity unimpugned? Should public opinion endeavour to divorce him from his past? Is it in the best interests of a state that a body of men, whose union is supernational and interpenetrates mankind, should preserve intact an organization which places the considerations of its members before those of the governments in which they reside? Is their position defensible? Is our own position defensible are but a few of the numerous queries of varying accuracy which Europe is asking itself.

Under these circumstances the phase of the case which I am about to present should entitle me to a fair and patient hearing. I have no desire to fashion or control opinion, and I do not consider it fair to gain a point by a bare appeal to the emotions other than those which must spring up in the reader's own breast; but as a son of Israel and one anxious to subserve the higher ideals of my race, I hold that I am committing no culpable act in appearing before the bar of justice and submitting an authenticated statement of bygone events which, I have reason to think, will answer the questions, "Whether the Jew shall preserve or surrender his national and theological identity? Is his past sufficiently glorious for him to indissolubly bind him-

self to it? Has Christendom done her duty to him? Has she been lavish of her choicest gifts?" The thinkers of to-day stand between the past and the future; upon their decision depends much of the history of the present century. To these I address myself. To these I say "you have hitherto ignored the position that the unjust sufferings of a class or a clan can cause it to weld itself into a closely cohering body; once it has bound itself together by ties of tender love and mournful sympathy, it ought not to hastily loosen the bond which connects them with their ancestors, mitigates their sorrows, and renders them tolerable, until the primary causes of them are to be for ever eradicated. Such an assurance the Jew cannot receive; if it were even possible to give it, he would necessarily be very cautious in accepting it and creeping out of the hard and impenetrable tortoise shell of tradition in which he has encased himself." Another word of vindiction! A community is a number of units branded together for the better protection of the rights of the individual; a state is formed with the same object in view, for the recognition of the natural privileges of its members and the power of assuring them. The Jews are now an extra-national body and their close adhesion is better calculated to serve their interests lest they be overcome in detail.

But my work is not an attempt at a solution, or a vindication of the Jewish question. It is the outcome of the constant reflections of a Jew who realizes (alas! too clearly) what has been gradually dawning upon him since he first pondered over the bitter and tear-stained chronicles that relate the dispersion of his nation and the sequential misfortunes which overtook its members The horrors of its past are realized in their fullest force and its future is regarded with grave apprehension, for the Jew has been taught—too oft—that the lull before the storm, has, in his history at least, been no misapplied term, and temporary—though prolonged—tranquility has ever been but as a prelude to the most sanguinary calamities that have befallen him. He knows that though he in one country enjoys immunity from the inhuman treatment meted out to him in the Middle Ages, in another the sword of Damocles hangs over his head.

My work is the wail, the dirge, the threnody of one whose highest ideals are fully defined by the words "Jewish Patriot," of one whose greatest flight of ambition is to merit that glorious designation; such a one now wanders through the crypts of history and mourns over the tombs of his martyred fathers.

My work is the feeble voice of an Israelite whose burning and unquenchable resolution is to imbue, in however small a degree, the unprejudiced thinkers, those who applaud unflinching heroism in the face of the most calamitous issues, those who admire intrepid courage in the face of the direst straits of misery and unwavering determination when tested by the bitterest trials, those who love nobility of character and single-mindedness of purpose, those who love fearless and resolute resistance, when offered by a handful of heroes to an infuriated and execrating mob, with an appreciation of—or at least, sympathy with—the parent of religion, who in mediæval ages became the detested step-child of Europe. If I but succeed in causing these to acquire sentiments of admiration for the superb heroism of the Jew, I have been amply rewarded for my lucubrations; for the consummation I seek, is to arouse the regard of all right thinking men for the Jews and their brilliant history. What a history! What an unbroken record of nineteen centuries of glory! What alternations of splendour and misery! Stately palaces by the Guadalquivir and wretched hovels by the Rhine: Velvet and Brocades, Silks and resplendent Jewels by the Tagus, Rags and Jew Badges by the Tiber. Who indeed can but admire a nations' story, many decades of which contain incidents before which the noble deeds wrought in a century of Greek or Roman history are as naught!

I have given a very brief—though I trust succinct—account of the principal sufferings of the Jews during the past twelve centuries. I have not attempted

to do more: had I even desired to, it would have been impossible in the compass of a single volume. It would require many tomes to faithfully recount their pertinacity in refusing to divorce themselves from their allegiance to that ancient and historic brotherhood, for the glory of which they preferred to die. Dr. Jortin says, "An account of the Jews who have been plundered, sent naked into banishment, starved to death, tortured, left to perish in prisons, hanged and burned by Christians, would fill many large volumes."

A record of Jewish steadfastness, matchless heroism, and fearless defiance of death would, without doubt, rank foremost in the most illustrious chronicles in the annals of the human race. No nation has ever produced such an innumerable phalanx of martyrs nor has any race ever been subjected to such an unabated and merciless course of persecution. The very words of religious teachers, even of founders of creeds, have been construed into commands to hound the Jew, to oppress him having been in all ages considered one of the primal purposes of religion. In proof of this it must be borne in mind that it was during periods of great religious revulsion his sufferings were the most acute. "When the nations were aroused to redeem the Holy Sepulchre from dishonour, when the Cathedrals were raising gushes of devotion from the popular heart, fixed in stone to stand for centuries, it was precisely then that the faggots were heaped highest and the sword was the most merciless."[1] To do such a theme even a minute portion of the justice that, both its singular import and undeniable moment condign, would require a much more trenchant pen than mine.

Would that I could sing the sweetest pæan of praise, recite the most beautiful lay or the most glowing panegyric upon the unflagging and immensurate nobility of these "heroes of men." Had I the tongue of a Cicero or the pen of a Horace, were my words as sweet as the music of an Æaolian harp, could I, like the fabled Amphion, raise walls to Thebes with the music of my lyre, then could I express but an infinitesimal fraction of the towering admiration with which these "Kings of Martyrs" fill my mind: alas! I have but the pen of an idealist with which to describe my love for the mute witnesses of human falsity and ingratitude.

I have commenced my records from the beginning of the seventh century—a time when Europe was gradually emancipating herself from the tyranny and after-throes of Roman despotism. Were I to have dwelt upon events anterior to this, it would be almost tantamount to chronicling the crimes of that Empire against the Jews, that task I have reserved for a future volume in which I shall endeavour to show the Jew under Greek, Roman, Persian and Mohammedan rule.

Now that Zionism, the social question of the day and the possible solution of the Jewish question, is being eagerly mooted in every part of Europe, the time is propitious for a word on behalf of the much maligned, but little understood, Jew. He needs a friend. Though Raymund de Penjaforte is no more, he has emulous followers in Drumont and Pastor Deckert: if John of Capistrano no longer incites the mob to frenzy Dr. Stocker and Rector Ahlwardt perform that duty. Has the Hebrew benefited because he has exchanged Dr. Eck for Dr. Lueger? and if the Canons of the Lateran Council are now obsolete did they harass him more than the monstrous "May Laws" or the decrees of the "Holy Synod?"

The trend of modern thought is for giving the Jew and his sufferings a fair hearing, for the clerics and professors of modern Christianity are among the most vehement denunciators of those of their predecessors who wrought such barbarous deeds upon him, and the members of that great creed deplore the cruel deeds of their ancestors with as much sincerity as the most patriotic Jew,

(1) Prof. Hosman, p. 139.

yet the vast majority of their historians discreetly (though very unjustly) slur over the ghastly tragedies, it will be my purpose to relate, with indecent precipitancy. The consistency with which the majority of the Middle Age writers avoid giving a detailed and unprejudiced account of the massacres of Jews which they must have witnessed, almost leads the student to infer the existence of a tacit understanding which deterred them from handing down to posterity a faithful record of the events so pregnant to society. The paucity of their accounts is but one fault, the monkish gall often poured into their writings, and the fiendish joy that elated them in describing Jewish sufferings, overt admission of which is frequently made, forms the ground of a much heavier indictment. Then the Jewish apologist is met with another grave—though not insuperable—obstacle: he must be prepared to detect the flimsily veiled malice of a "Matthew Paris" or the unmanly innuendoes of a "Gibbon," when once these are discovered he has no difficulty in confuting their statements and so circumventing the impressions they are intended to convey.

In concluding my unavoidably lengthy preface let me assure the reader that the incidents referred to in the work are all substantiated by the most reliable and trustworthy authorities, my information being culled from many sources: seeking as I do utility and effect more than applause or credit for originality, I have, whenever possible, let the historian himself speak; hence the numerous, and frequently lengthy, quotations. These will be found not the least important feature of the work, and as the great majority of the books cited are those of standard writers, they can be very easily verified by reference being made to the passages indicated should the reader wish to take the trouble. A few of the authors quoted are Professor Graetz (my principal and most frequently cited authority,—for those who have not read his masterly "History of the Jews" I quote Dean Stanley who places him high in the list of those who have, through their laborious investigation rendered research into Jewish History a now unnecessary labour,) Dr's Zunz, Neander, Hallam, Draper, Ranke, Hosmer, Adams, and Milman: Gibbon, Hume, Lingard, Prescott, White, Strickland, Milner, Picciotto, Lindo, Jacobs, Bonnechose, Foote and Wheeler, Bonnechose, Martin, and Abrahams; and I feel convinced that a book leaning on such solid tenons will carry with it an amount of grave and irrefragable historic value. The language is simple rather than ornate, for I desire to appeal to every shade of thought and every grade of knowledge. I can only express the hope that my efforts, prompted as they are by the deepest sincerity, will serve a dual purpose: to imbue the Jew with national pride and a cognizance of his racial achievements, and to silence his carping and cavilling detractors and rather fill them with sympathy by a recital of his woes. Perhaps my book may tend to further cement the amity which happily exists between the now no longer inimical creeds. If it succeeds in doing so it has secured the consummation destined for it by

THE AUTHOR.

---

(1) Introduction to Vol. III., "The Jewish Church."

INTRODUCTION.

Inscribe in words of purest gold,
The deeds of those brave Jews of old,
Let minstrel's harp, and poet's pen,
Sing pæans o'er these Kings of men.

Histories have been written of all nations, and man has paused in admiration of the deeds of bygone heroes; valour and courage have ever been the themes on which bards and poets have sung their sweetest lays; nobility of purpose, and resolution of mind when opposed to overpowering influences have ever filled the mind with emulous appreciation; the deeds of great and brave men have thrilled the soul, quickened the pulse of emulation and given zest to every ennobling thought of which man is capable, while a recital of heroic endurance has always fired the mind with the loftiest aspirations and the heart with the grandest promptings. The deaths of martyrs have thrilled the heart-strings of nations and moved Empires to tears. Who has not admired the noble self-immolation of Leonidas and his three hundred patriotic Spartans who bravely withstood the mighty hosts of Persia? Who has not shed a tear over the aged Polycarp, who when entreated by the Roman Proconsul to revile God and save his life, begged to be instantly led to his death? Who has not lauded the praise-worthy steadfastness of Perpetua, who when being led to the amphitheatre—together with her companions there to meet a Martyr's death—was compelled by the remorseless Romans to behold her babe, which had been dragged from her, and in vain implored by her father to take compassion upon her own offspring and offer sacrifice to the heathen Gods? Who has not felt a pang of sorrow for the brave martyrs of Lyons and Vienne whose firmness under the most fearful tortures touched their very judges? Every phase of human history, every noble act ever wrought, every deed of self-abnegation, every heroic effort, every instance of the patient endurance of suffering, every martyrdom won by resistance and met with fortitude, has been recorded by the pens of the patriot, the panegyrist, the historian, and the scholar; yet has the bloodiest page in the chronicles of man, the most ghastly tragedy that stains the leaves of history, the most cothurnate chapter in the annals of crime, remained untold, and the myriads of heroes, of dumb sufferers, of voluntary martyrs, whose sorrows it would tell, their deeds have been as a sealed book. It is this chapter I purpose to tell, for although the bitter tragedy of a nation's agony has not yet reached its climax, it will be salutary to view, in all their lethal and incredible horrors the "Middle Ages" from which the Jewish race has just so triumphantly emerged. In tearing away the veil that overhangs the past, in revealing the awful misdeeds of mankind against my people, in transporting my readers from this enlightened century, when we in happy England are surrounded by every adjunct of civilization and learning, into the fierce and barbarous days when that bloody Slogan of Christianity, Hep! Hep![1] rang from one end of Europe to another and sounded the tocsin of massacre; into the days when that wild Catholic pibroch heralded the decimation of the persecuted Hebrew race and tolled the death knell of whole communties of God-fearing men; into the days when hoary-

(1) Abbreviation of Hierosylma est Perdita (Jerusalem is lost).

headed and wrinkled old men, their brows furrowed by anxiety and their figures bent with age were writhing on the rack in awful agony or hoisted in mid-air by pulleys and their heart-rending shrieks were silenced with iron gags; into the days when tender and trembling women, the roseate flush of beauty on their cheeks and the love of virtue in their hearts, were irrecognisably mangled and mutilated for no other crime than that of birth; into the days when noble minded and patriotic youths, and beautiful and innocent maidens in the first lovely bloom of adolescence entered the torture chambers with a light elastic tread, and emerged in one short hour deformed and crippled for life, pale emaciated invalids; into the days, when little children were, before the eyes of their agonized and horror stricken parents, rent limb from limb or hopelessly maimed, I must most earnestly and distinctly disavow any intention and disclaim any desire to hold one generation responsible for the crimes of another, or to charge against the nineteenth century the criminal misdeeds wrought in the fourteenth. I shall by no means attempt to hold up to obloquy a creed so essentially Jewish in its ethics as Christianity. For that great religion I, in common with my brethren in faith, entertain the greatest respect, for not only is it based upon our sacred literature but its noble teachings have done much to reform mankind. It is of the Church as a hierarchy, and as a corporate body that I shall speak, even the past of the Church I do not wish to criticise with the pen of a critic. It was not for Christian vice, but for Jewish valour, that I searched the pages of history. I do not seek to denounce the Christian but to exalt the Jew. It is not of creed but of race that I speak, for my primary object is less to stigmatise the persecutors than to laud the persecuted; yet what can I do if it is from the very records of Christian bigotry that I must draw my material. These few preceding words will, I most anxiously hope, vindicate my objects against any possible misconstruction, but if the reader is so fierce a bigot as to regard any reference to his civil history as a covert attack upon his religion he will compel me to vindicate myself in different and more forcible langnage; by telling him that it is an absolute impossibility for any historian living to refer to the perpetrators of cruel massacres in eulogistic language or to panegyrise the formulators of unjust and oppressive laws.

Through the long vista of history, through the labyrinths of the centuries, the Jew sees his ancestors hated, despised, lampooned, pillaged, massacred, and tortured with every species of horror that fiendish and unrelenting malignity could devise and heartless barbarity execute. He sees them stretched on the rack, rolled over sharp spikes of iron, locked in heated cages, manacled like common felons, and branded with the infamy of the basest malefactors; he sees splinters of wood driven into their finger joints, and their teeth wrenched out; he sees them hoisted by pulleys, and pining in dark and damp dungeons vainly praying for one drop of water to slake their thirst, gawning the straw of their cells until starved into gibbering madness; he sees them with red hot plates of iron applied to their chests or seated in hot iron chairs suffering the most excruciating agony; by one monarch penned like diseased sheep into crowded and pestilential ghettos, by another chased from country to country like wild beasts of the forest.

He thinks of the days when cowled fiends and tonsured barbarians witnessed with transports of hellish joy each single throe of some tortured Jew, of the days when savage executioners and bloodstained tormentors heard with delirious glee, and ferocious exultation, the piercing shrieks and pitiful prayers of innocent and upright men, of the days when bishops—breviary in hand—piously crossed themselves and devout monks repeated paternosters whilst rapturously witnessing the torturers tearing out the eyes or amputating the limbs of harmless and aged men, deep in the bowels of the earth beyond the peer of human eye. He thinks of the death processions and autos-da-fe of Seville, Barcelona and Madrid, of the funereal Pyres of Segovia, and Valladolid, of the holocausts of Cuenca and Lisbon, of the Leibzoll, Poll-Tax, and Night Pass, of the Dominican Whip, the Rouelle, and the Yellow Badge. Well and

bitterly may he reflect, for the blood of his forefathers has left its indelible stain upon the grim and ghastly pages of history ; pages deformed by human hatred. by deeds so monstrous that had all the tyrants, inventors of tortures, and heartless assassins branded by man as infamous, had all the fiends of the nethermost hell, united to hound the Jew and render his very existence intoler able they would have had no more harrowing stories to relate. Yet has every monster at whose bare name men shudder added to his infamy by inflicting fresh wounds on his lacerated body ; and for what ? for his invincible tenacity, for the invulnerable firmness for the passionate and inalienable devotion with which he has clung to his creed and his race. His is indeed a terrible story, he is an irrefutable witness to the perfidy of man, to the impotence of humanity, to the falsity and ingratitude of the human race. Knowledge may spread its beneficent wings over the universe, hush the strife of creeds and with it the hatred fostered by bigotry ; science may shed its lovely rays and its beauteous influences. from pole to pole ; liberty may sound the brotherhood of man and the supreme sanctity of humanity, yet the Jew will rise before them all and like a jeering spectre laugh their achievements to scorn for he will point to that imperishable testimony of man's perfidity and baseness,—" The brilliant roll of Israel's martyrs, heroes and patriots." But his fathers have not suffered in vain. " The men of Treves " and of " Blois " live in his memory ; the heroes of Mentz, of Cologne, and of York have not immolated themselves to perish from the annals of the Israelites, they have kindled an unquench- able light in the heart of every Jew, a light which amid the sorest adversity burns with undiminished brilliancy, a light that the blazing fires of the " Quemadero " and the waters of Fribourg have alike failed to destroy, the light of national pride. To generations yet unborn will be recited the im- mutable steadfastness of Judah's Martyrs, in centuries to come the names of Samuel Usque, Simon Maimi, Isaac de Castro Tartas, Don Cæsar Orobio, Gonzalo Bæz. Leonor de Vibero, Anna Xuares, Minna of Spiers, and the legions of Hebrew martyrs, whose names scintillate with undying lustre upon the records of history, will ever cause Jewish hearts the world over to glow with pride : for the Jew is as he was centuries ago ; he shares the same ideals as did his ancestors, he possesses the same ambitions and is oft repelled by the same hatred, for in Germany, the home of the reformation and the cradle of modern philosophy, in Russia, in Austria, in Morocco, is it not sought to embitter his existence ? True ! the flame, the boot, and the thumbscrew are no longer available, but is not a social crusade preached against him ? Do not the ghastly apparitions of religious bigotry and racial antipathy rear their heads aloft, and incite men to hate their fellow men ! Does not Roumania, a country that gained the compassion of Europe by pretending to groan under the heel of Turkey, a country emancipated from practical servitude in our own times, and a land where equality should be regnant, refuse her dying Jewish subjects admission to her hospitals ?

Though the Jew lives in happy England he remembers that millions, aye tens of millions of his ancestors, passed their wretched lives without one spark of joy, without one happy moment, that millions of his co-religionists have entered the beautiful and flower bedecked world within the halo of misery ; he remembers that the fear of Dominican kidnappers hovered over their baby cots, the shades of terror—oft the funeral pall—over their youth, that misery and foul accusations filled the brightest years of their manhood, the shadow of the sword. and the horrors of the dungeon, their declining days. He remembers that before the agonized gaze of his forefathers there ever loomed the " Iron Maiden " and the " Rack " and that their vision was blurred by gyves and gibbets, chains and dungeons, he remembers that their grey hairs and tear-bedimmed eyes have closed upon a miserable existence wit- nessing the persecution and direst affliction of their children, who in their turn have again ushered children into the world to crowd the foul-aired ghettos, to toil for heartless Kings and to be denied the rights of human beings, to be the butt of every ribald jester, of every swine-herd of the lowest serf, to bear the burden of misguided states, to be derided by the hooting mob, to be the

victims of all the "tearers, branders and searers of human flesh, all the forgers of manacles, the makers of chains. the builders of dungeons," all the torturers, assassins, and monsters execrated by posterity, to have their whining babes and weeping children torn from them by fanatical monks, to be vilified and slandered, to be twitted by the peasant, oppressed by the noble, and murdered by the proletary.

The Jew has paid the full penalty for his unswerving loyalty to his creed and his indomitable adhesion to his national traditions. His one joy was to think of his past; his soaring mind burst open for him the gates of the ghetto, the Judenstrasse could not imprison his soul; the galling chains of abject serfdom, the fetters of Church Canons were at times but puny trials of his endurance, the strength and invincibility of which he knew, his one aim was to emulate the heroism of his ancestors, his one hope to witness the restoration of his past glories. Oh! how fervently he prayed to once more tend the vineyards of Palestine, to prune its olives, to rest under its shady arbours, to pluck its flowers, to sing praises on its plains. Oh! how he longed to look upon his tear-stained history, pregnant with so much pain and misery, as a repugnant dream, as a frightful vision, far exceeding in possibility the most horrible cruelties men could perpetrate. Alas! he dreamed in vain, he was ruthlessly awakened, his ideals were cruelly shattered, his story was to be the most appalling of all stories.

His innate fortitude, his touching and invulnerable firmness, his dumb and unprotesting suffering, his patient resignation to the will of his persecutors have all encircled him with glory; glory that will remain for ever untarnished, glory that hatred cannot minimise, bigotry question, persecution lessen, or the chimerical and malignant charges hurled against him darken.

Marvellous indeed! and no less unique than marvellous is the fact of a whole people willingly accepting martyrdom and suffering grief, pain and tears, as a legacy, and yet clinging to that bequest with unparalleled tenacity. Let Clio the Goddess of history search her tablets and show another such people.

The Church has abandoned her bellicose propaganda; the struggle of the middle ages. the highest ambition of saints and popes, emperors and princes, to wipe out the memory of the Jew is now obsolescent: the proletariat of liberty has sounded the funeral note of religious persecutions. In England at least the elevating influences of education combined with the prevalence of enlightened literature have conduced to materially affect the once myopic views of the middle classes, and though the even-handed and impartial administration of justice is not universal, the mere exhibition of its punitive apparatus protects him from the onslaughts of the rabble. For the reason just adduced the Jew enjoys protection of life and limb in a greater degree to-day than at any previous epoch in the history of his dispersion. The splenetic displays of the intolerant, once so potent, are now nugatory, so a consideration of the records of the last few centuries, records so besmeared with innocent blood, can only tend to increase the Israelite's love for his nation and ensure his closer adherence to his illustrious faith. I have already in my preface disclaimed any intention of disparaging Christianity or any desire to depreciate the characters of its formulators and votaries, but it is from her history alone that I must demonstrate the endurance and the heroism of the Hebrews.

The impregnable zeal with which the Jewish race have clung to their religion and their national identity is indeed wonderful, even in times anterior to those concerning which I shall speak. The Babylonian has taken him captive, his proud ruler laughed to scorn the mite that dare oppugn itself to his Mastodon arm, and now the precise site of Babylon is unknown and were it not for the researches of scholars would never be broached. Assyria with her teeming millions, Macedonia with her phalanxes, Syria with her huge elephants, Greece with her vast and bellipotent hosts, Arabia with her deadly

showers of javelins, Idumea with her unerring bowmen, have all invaded the home of this handful of men. Time after time has the Jew been trampled under foot, yet, through his inexpugnable pertinacity he has not succumbed. Oft has he been rent to pieces, yet, like the polyp each piece has lived on. Rome, the eagle emblemed mistress of the world, the victor of a thousand battles, the wielder of the destiny of nations, the arbiter of the fate of races, whose least smile irradiated mankind and whose frown clad millions in habiliments of grief and mourning, with her mail-clad legions and her plumed sons, her wild Vangioni, her mammoth catapults and her huge battering rams, has sought to clog the very heart of her national existence (her religion) by tearing out her heart string (the Temple), yet like the wondrous pollen when planted elsewhere, Judaism has sprouted again and at last gained luxuriant foliage. The very rites and forms so derided are faithfully exercised, a rejuvenescence of the Hebraic cult ever being the principal result achieved by the persecution of its followers. The mighty empires of history are gone, their monuments built for eternity, decayed, crumbled, and then mixed with the dust. Of all that have seen them the Jew alone survives to tell of their glories. It is he who has seen the mighty thrones and puissant princes before whom he trembled, totter and fall; he has seen Satrap, Tirshatha, Archon, and Truimvir flash past his gaze like shooting comets, he has seen the purple clad Cæsars, those arbiters of his own fate, wield the sceptre and grasp the diadem, nations trembling at their frown, and mankind submissive to their dictates. Then he saw their power wane and gradually pass away to the domains of history while their might, their bravery, their heroism are now only heard in the poem of the classicist or the lay of the minstrel. Then he remembers that he has outlived them all, that he is yet as young as ever retaining all his pristine vigour, and to-day wields a potent influence over the intellect, culture, wealth, and progress of Europe.

To-day he reads of how his kinsmen were the slaves of the Church.[1] Servi Cameræ, Chattels of the Crown, he admits that these unequivocal designations were no bold assertions, that they truthfully described his position in certain lands, yet the only effect produced upon him is to fan his patriotism into a greater flame. Such is the effect of coercion upon the Jew!

Who would not suffer when contrasted with him? Where not the "Horatii" brave? Yet they sink into oblivion when contrasted with the "Martyrs of the Inquisition." Does not Joan of Arc dwindle into insignificance before Minna of Speyer? Was Nicias, was Quintus Curtius a hero when contrasted with Samuel Usque? Where is Dentatus? Is he not dwarfed into obscurity when we mention Simon bar Giora? Where is Camillus when we pit John of Gischala against him? Where is Marius when considered with Barcochba? Would the admiration for the great Garibaldi be enhanced were we to compare his patriotism with that of Ezekias, and is not the martyrdom of the noble Giordano Bruno less impressive when we rank against it that of Isaac de Castro.

In conclusion I can only reiterate my former words, that my book may promote the interests of concord and the consummation of harmony and fraternity between Jew and Christian. Such is the dearest wish of

GUSTAV PEARLSON.

(1.) Dictum of St. Thomas Aquinas.

CHAPTERS.

I.—Persecution of the Jews in England 1-42

II.—Jewish Sufferings in France 43-87

III.—Germany and the Jews 88-140

IV.—Excesses practised upon the Swiss Jews, in 1348 and 1349, on account of the Black Plague 141-143

V.—Some Incidents in the History of the Belgian Jews 144-146

VI.—Persecution of the Austrian Jews 147-154

VII.—The Vatican and the Jews..... 155-182

VIII.—Canons and Councils 183-204

IX.—The Jews in Spain 205-249

X.—The Jews in Portugal 250-260

CHAPTER I.

PERSECUTION OF THE JEWS IN ENGLAND.

"They went into the Jewry and wounded and tore men too,
And robbed and burnt houses and many they slew."

Robert of Gloucester.

THE history of the Jews in England prior to the Conquest rests on no authoritative basis, therefore to give the date of their first settlement is a difficult matter. Some writers suppose that a Jewish immigration into this island took place during the Roman occupation, but all are agreed that under the early Saxon kings they formed an important element in the population and were already formed into communities, paying the greatest deference to their self-selected heads, and acting in the most complete unison. Legislation affecting them can be found as early as 740, when it was enacted by Egbright, Archbishop of York, that "No good Christian shall break bread or eat meat with a Jew". This prelate also forbade those under his spiritual jurisdiction to appear at Jewish feasts. Many other laws of a similar nature were formulated about this period.[1] Thus we here find nascent, that spirit of persecution which growing with age terminated in their final expulsion. The decrees of Egbright may be regarded as the inception of that series of repressive laws which reached their

(1.) A fair sample of these laws are the annexed paragraphs :—

It is allowable to celebrate Mass in a church where faithful and pious ones have been buried ; but if infidels or heretics or faithless Jews be buried it is not allowed to sanctify or celebrate Mass. But if it seems suitable for consecration, tearing thence the bodies and scraping or washing the walls, let it be consecrated if it has not been so suitably.

If any Christian accepts from the infidel Jews their unleaven cakes, or any other meat or drink and shares in their impieties, (*i.e.* religious observances) he shall do penance with bread and water for forty days : if any make Easter with the Jews he shall be cut off from the whole Church. If any Christian woman takes a gift from a Jew or of her own will commits sin with them let her be separated from the Church a whole year, and live in much tribulation and then let her repent for nine years ; but if a pagan, let her repent seven years. "Laws of the Church against the Jews." "The Jews of Angevin England," p. 2. Joseph Jacobs, B.A.

culmination in the times of Thomas à Becket and Stephen Langton ; yet though it was found necessary at this early date to lay down ordinances intended to cope with the turpitude of a people claiming the free exercise of the most primitive rights of man, the systematic and regular persecution of the Jews was of much later date, for they cannot be said to have suffered any real oppression till near the period in which the former of these two Archbishops held ecclesiastical sway.

King Canute (in 1020) banished the Jews from his newly subjugated kingdom without assigning any motive for this arbitrary action. The exiles crossing to Normandy were allowed by the Duke to take up their permanent residence in his Duchy and were—on the conquest of England—permitted to purchase the right of residence for themselves and their descendants. William treated his Hebrew subjects with the most scrupulous justice and granted them not only the free exercise of their religion but the rights of trade and commerce. Had several of his highly lauded successors chosen to adopt his equitable attitude towards that people, English history would have considerably less bloody massacres and cruel extortions to deface her pages.

William Rufus followed in his father's policy and at times evinced a distinct predilection for his Jewish subjects. This was the cause of deep and openly expressed discontent on the part of the clergy who were greatly mortified to see their hated adversaries held in high estimation by the irreligious monarch.[1]

During the reign of Henry I many open minded Christians, who perceived the high character and superior mode of life of their Jewish countrymen, evinced a distinct partiality for Hebrew ideals and customs, a number openly avowing their preference for Judaism ; monks were therefore despatched throughout the kingdom and instructed to deliver denunciatory sermons inveighing against the adherents of this creed, the stock charges against its members proving never-failing themes for the tirades of these militant philosophers.

(1.) Not that these princes felt any partiality for a race of men everywhere persecuted but because by protecting them they consulted their own interests, for the Jew was the slave of the sovereign, whatever he might actually possess or subsequently acquire belonged to the Crown, and if he became an object of value in the royal estimation it was on account of the profit which he continually brought to the exchequer. Hence he was enrolled as the King's property from his birth ; he was suffered to dwell nowhere but in the royal cities or boroughs, and only in some of them and in such particular quarters as were assigned for that purpose. Rev. Dr. Lingard, " History of England," Vol. II., chap. 4.

The fierce contest for supremacy waged between Stephen and Matilda was fraught with much suffering for the unhappy Israelites ; the cost of maintaining an expensive war had depleted the finances of both antagonists and money became indispensably necessary. To cope with this difficulty, recourse was had to the Continental expedient, wringing it from the Jews. Periodical demands for vast sums were made upon the wealthier Jews and those who were either unable or unwilling to pay were expelled from the country and their lands and properties confiscated. It is difficult to realise to what an extent this was carried.[1] During the whole of Stephen's reign they were subjected to extortions and oppression. To give the former legal colour the most false and horrible accusations were made against them ; yet they found credence and the Jew found himself in the unenviable position of having to either purchase peace or undergo punishment for imaginary offences against religion and society, to both of which institutions it was universally understood he was the bitterest and most uncompromising of foes.

Till the year 1177 (Henry II's reign) the Jews were not allowed to bury their dead elsewhere than in London ; thus a Jew dying in the extreme North, the corpse had to be conveyed to London and woe betide the bearers did they chance to meet a cavalcade of knights on the road.

Under Henry II the persecution of the Jews reached an acute stage, cruel exactions of enormous sums of money was the order of the day, their fictitious crimes proving capital pretexts for so serious an abuse of power. The indigence of the Crown, the bigotry of the clergy and the rapacity of the mob co-operated and wrought the most appalling misery among the unfortunate Jews : for had they been proscribed by fate or condemned to drink the cup of sorrow to the very dregs ; had the Hecates and the Furies combined to render their existence intolerable the outbreaks against these hapless beings could not have been more frequent or their oppression more methodical. Every festivity, every public gathering, every assemblage of a gang of roughs might be the signal for the brilliantly cultured mob of the Plantagenet period to plunder, maltreat, and murder this unfortunate race of people. Why should they not ? What was to restrain them ? Were they not goaded into performing these cowardly acts by the clergy whose influence was paramount and had they any reprisals at the hands of justice to fear ?

During this reign a fatuous charge first brought forward in the time of Stephen was resuscitated. In his occupancy of the throne, the

(1.) See Hallam in loco.

Norwich community had been charged with the crucifixion and torture of a Christian youth. There had been no evidence whatever to support this ridiculous charge, but what had evidence ever to do with accusations against the Jews ? An eminent historian has well said, "The charges against the Jews increased in exact proportion to the decrease in the Kingly finances". William of Norwich became a saint of world wide repute and Norwich itself a wealthy borough owing to the influx of pilgrims desirous of witnessing the astounding miracles this martyr performed in his tomb. St. Edmondsbury was not loth to follow the lucrative example held out to it, for in 1160 its inhabitants made this vapid charge a pretext for the indiscriminate pillage of the local Jewish quarter. Henry's exactions from his Jewish subjects were endless, on one occasion he fined them 5000 marks and expelled a large number of their body who would not submit to the arrangement of periodically paying extortionate sums and in return being allowed to live unmolested.

When in 1188 an expedition to the Holy Land was being formed, a council at Northampton assessed the Christian population at £70,000 and the Jews alone at £60,000, but Henry died before these sums could be levied, so they were for the moment safe.

At the coronation of his successor Richard I, the Jews, ever patriotic to their sovereign, sent a deputation to Westminster Abbey bearing costly presents to the newly crowned King. These Jewish legates excited the avarice of his attendants by their sumptuous apparel and were forbidden by the clergy to enter the precincts of the Abbey "lest they bewitch the king by their wicked spells," it being greatly feared that their presence would be an ill omen for the prosperity of the reign. To what extent Richard I was bewitched by the Jews is demonstrated by the bitter hatred he often exhibited towards them. He was, though lax enough in the practice of those virtues which constitute the essential qualifications of a wise monarch, burning with Catholic zeal and treated the unfortunate children of Abraham according to the dictates of his confessor's conscience. They were forcibly thrust into the Abbey by the crowd and then brutally attacked for disobeying the order precluding them from witnessing the coronation. The rumour quickly spread that Richard had ordered a general massacre of the Jews in London this was untrue, for though he had—at the direction of Baldwin, Archbishop of Canterbury—refused to accept the presents proffered, fearing it would portend misfortune to his kingdom, and instructed his menials to eject the emissaries, he had certainly not ordered their massacre. Notwithstanding this, an edict so palatable to the rabble,

who rapidly fell upon the Jewish quarter with axes, knives, clubs, maces, sticks, stones, and every accessible weapon and maltreated, and murdered its inhabitants, was not to be relinquished for the feeble admonition of Ranulf de Granville, the Chief Justiciary, who at the command of Richard had ostensibly attempted to stay the fearful slaughter.[1] How earnestly this functionary deprecated their pious zeal is evidenced by the fact that he was unheeded ; for an entire day and night bloodshed and murder were rampant, wherever a Jew was seen he was instantly murdered. A number of the hated race—whose only crime was their wealth—repaired to the stronger houses in the Jews' quarter. "These were surrounded by the roaring people and were stoutly besieged from nine o'clock till sunset and as they could not be broken into, owing to their strong build and because the madmen had not tools, fire was thrown on the thatched roofs and a terrible conflagration quickly broke out, which was fatal to the Jews as they strove to put it out. The Jews were either roasted in their own houses or if they came out of them were received with swords.[2] The riots against the Jews and the reckless simony and sale of offices with which Richard's reign opened seemed alike to show the need which Henry's work had for his supervision".[3]

Many Jews were called upon to abjure their faith, but Rabbi Jacob of Orleans, the celebrated Tosaphist, who met a Martyr's death during the riot, counselled them to slay themselves rather than fall by the hands of the uncircumcised ; this they instantly did. Richard, desirous of making a show of indignation that would not interfere with the cruel deeds in which he took such quiescent delight, issued a proclamation forbidding any further excesses against the Jews, but not before the mob had already sated both their religious ardour and their rapacity, and weary from their exertions had desisted from the pious work of massacring them. Truly a most humane act when they had been already plundered of all they possessed, even the very clothing they wore ; their wealth, which was described as incalculable, had fallen into the hands of their theological executioners.[4] "Richard refused to

(1.) Richard's Proclamation debarring the Jews from entering Westminster Abbey at the time of his inauguration was a classification of persons greatly impugning the gallantry of the Lion-Hearted King. Strickland's "Lives of the Queens of England," Vol. I., p. 199.

(2.) Joseph Jacobs, "The Jews of Angevin England," p. 102.

(3.) "Stephen Langton," p. 75.

(4.) Thus was the first day of the reign of the illustrious King Richard distinguished by an event hitherto unheard of in the royal city, by the beginning of the doom of the infidel race, and by a new zeal of Christians against the enemies of the Cross of Christ. "Chronicles of William of Newbury," cited by J. Jacobs.

irritate his subjects at the beginning of his reign by acts of severity in favour of a hated people,"[1] but three of the mob were executed, one because he had committed a culpable error and actually robbed the house of a Christian, the other two, because having set fire to a Jewish house, they did not prevent the flames from igniting the next house, which was also the property of a Christian. This cruel massacre was—to the clergy at least—a source of undisguised glee. Their intense joy is voiced in the characteristic utterance of a contemporary theologian and historian, who says "Blessed be God who has delivered up the impious to death." How different, how mournfully touching are the few words of Ephraim of Bonn,[2] a Jewish martyrologist, "That Wednesday 20th, Sivan 4931," he says, "was with willing heart accepted as a day of mourning and fast by all the Congregations in France and all the inhabitants of the Isles (England)."

"According to the order of their Chief Rabbi and Teacher, Jacob, son of Rabbi Meir, who informed them by letter that it was right, this day was established as a fast for all their brethren, a fast more stringent than that for Gedalyah, the son of Alikana, for it is a day of atonement. May the righteousness of all those who sacrifice themselves in honour of the Unity and Sanctification of the name stand Israel in aid for aye." How truly noble, how from the depths of a patriot's heart, are these few words crushed in despair and full of hope, in one!

The deadly Slogan calling upon Englishmen to arm themselves and participate in the destruction of the "Enemies of God" had been sounded and right loyally did numbers of cities and towns that contained Jews respond to its call. They glutted themselves with innocent blood. In some districts not a single Jew or Jewish dwelling was spared; their quarters were deluged with blood till the streets became slippery. The people incited everywhere by the clergy to purge the land of its Jewish unbelievers[3] performed the most unprecedented acts of savage barbarity, even against defenceless women and children. Throughout the country hecatombs of the unhappy Israelites were hewn down without compassion,[4] grey hairs elicited no mercy, smiling

---

(1.) Rev. Dr. Lingard, Vol. II., chapter 4.

(2) Translated by Mr. Shechter.

(3.) If the ringleaders endeavoured to inflame the passions of the populace by religious considerations, it was merely as a cloak to their real design of sharing among themselves the spoils of their victims, and of extinguishing their debts by destroying the securities together with the persons of their creditors. —Rev. Dr. Lingard. Vol. II., Chap. iv.

(4.) Other cities and towns of the Country imitated the piety of the Londoners, and with equal devotion sent down their blood-suckers to Hell. Winchester alone spared her vermin.—"Chronicles of Richard of Devizes."

childhood passed unpitied. The myriads of fanatical monks and friars, who passed through England like a raging plague, preaching the Crusade and the wholesale extermination of all heretics, exhorted the populace to signalize their zeal for the faith by the pitiless slaughter of the wretched Jews, and their fierce sermons produced the desired effect, for they witnessed with hideous elation the unexampled atrocities, with which the poor persecuted Hebrews were everywhere slain and tortured.[1] The "Sicilian Vespers," or the "Massacre of St. Bartholomew" could not have witnessed the perpetration of more revolting cruelty than that to which the ill-fated race were subjected. On February 6th, 1190, the mob entered the Jewish quarters of Norwich and butchered the Jews in their own houses : children were dragged from their hiding places and slain in the presence of their parents.

A month later (March 7th,) the Stamford congregation met its doom. It was the annual fair and a priest urging the mob to follow the Crusade, they determined to slaughter and pillage the Jews for their expenses. "They were indignant that the enemies of the Cross of Christ, who dwelt there should possess so much when they had not enough for the expenses of their Crusading journey. Considering therefore that they would be doing honour to Christ if they attacked his enemies whose goods they were longing for, they boldly rushed upon them,"[2] slaughtering right and left without discrimination, neither age nor infirmity nor sex nor dignity were spared. On March 18th, the rabble attacked the Jews of St. Edmondsbury and killed all who were unable to hide themselves, many were asked to change their religion and thus save their lives together with those of their wives and children, but this they resolutely refused to do, and paid for their determination with their lives. The Jews who survived the outbreak were a source of deep grief to the Abbot Samson, who petitioned the King to issue a writ expelling the community from the town. This petition was granted, but it was stipulated that they should be protected from assault when departing and that their goods should not be pillaged. The ferocious abbot had it declared from every Church that anyone taking in a Jew or giving him food or lodgings was to be excommunicated.[3] At Lynn the massacre was especially fierce and large ; horrors too shocking to mention were perpetrated and not one Jew escaped the

---

(1,) To the rough logic of the people it seemed absurd to go many thousands of miles to fight the "enemies of Christ" and yet to allow some of them to live in peace at their own doors.—Joseph Jacobs. "The Jews of Angevin England.

(2.) *Ibid.*

(3.) *Ibid.*

fury of the assassins.[1] At Lincoln the terrified Jews were protected by the Governor, who possessed more sense of humanity than zeal for the extirpation of heretics. He made a determined attempt to stay an outbreak such as those that were taking place throughout the country. He addressed the citizens and beseeched them to return to their homes, but he was unheeded and they clamoured for the lives of the Jews. These in vain offered to purchase peace at any terms, offering priceless jewels and vast sums of money to those who were thirsting for their blood, but they were not to be appeased, for they were intent upon the destruction of their Jewish fellow-citizens. Finding all efforts to mollify the mob futile, the Governor ordered their retreat to the castle, a command they were wise enough to obey. There they conveyed their valuables and remained till the popular hatred which the clergy had aroused against them, had somewhat subsided. At York was enacted the most awful tragedy of all—the most horrible massacre in Anglo-Jewish history. That indelible blot upon the fame of England's past was preceded by a fitting incident; the dwelling of a Jew (Benedict of York,) who had died from the effects of the maltreatment he had received at the coronation of the King), was sacked, his property appropriated by the mob, and his wife and children and relatives murdered as personal enemies of Christ.

This instance of enjoying a popular pastime excited no indignation whatever, nor did such palpable cowardice elicit any extraneous comment. Those murdered were only Jews and when their co-religionists suggested restitution they were loudly laughed at, the idea being considered most ludicrous. That a people who might be fallen on in their own houses, tortured, plundered and murdered with impunity should presume to think of demanding reparation for an injury was certainly very droll!

When the crusading fever impregnated England, the pious brigands knew of only one method of obtaining the necessary expenses, this was to fall upon the Jews, pillage and even kill them if they proved intractable, although they had not given the slightest provocation. Professor Graetz instances a crusader who very narrowly escaped having his name placed in the "Calendar of Saints" because a fellow crusader murdered him to despoil him of the valuables he had plundered from a Jewish house and left with him for safe keeping.

During the dead of night a raging fire awoke the inhabitants of York and in the confusion a number of the citizens began to loot a few

(1.) God's justice by no means approved of such deeds, but cunningly ordained in this way that the insolence of that perfidious people might be checked and their blaspheming tongues curbed.—William of Newbury.

of the Jewish houses. This was the first result of a carefully hatched conspiracy, formed by a number of influential persons[1] who desired to obtain the expenses necessary for them to join the Crusade and at the same time earn fame by oppressing the Jews. A number of the more prescient Jews, notably Joachim a wealthy and pious man, perceived however that the well matured plans of their adversaries had not yet completed themselves and that much remained undone. They realized by intuition that the terrible fire that covered the misdeeds of the depredators was but a prelude to a lethal and organized attack upon themselves and their co-religionists. For weeks past they had observed the malevolent glances and sinister remarks of their Christian neighbours and now they had serious misgivings as to their portent. The envy of the higher orders, the fanaticism of the clergy and the knowledge that the expenses of the impending Crusade had to be obtained, created a furious resolution in their hearts, only to be gratified by an attack upon the Jews.

They determined to destroy the Jews of York, then a numerous and wealthy body in the city, possessing an academy of their own and a noble library for its use,[2] or compel them to embrace Christianity as an alternative. This option was but a ruse to give their crime a religious colour, for their pent but ill concealed fury knew no bounds ; they thirsted for the blood and riches of the heretical and opulent Hebrews. The needy noble awaited their destruction, that all claims against him might be obliterated ; the clergy saw in the murder of so large and important a body of Jews an approach towards the systematic extermination of the race throughout the kingdom ; the mob longed for their money and valuables, but all decided, however different their reasons, upon the death of the Jews. The sagacious mind of Joachim saw now quite clearly that the fire in the Jewish quarter (for which no ordinary reason had been assigned and doubtless the work of incendiaries), augured very darkly for the Jews of York. The seeds of persecution, so fondly watered by Thomas à Beckett (now canonized) had blossomed and produced a plenity of deleterious fruit. The intuitive Joachim with his family, having warned as many of his compatriots as he could without betraying his justly grounded suspicions, repaired to the tower

(1.) Many were induced to pay the expenses of the journey undertaken for the Lord's sake out of the booty taken from the Lord's enemies, especially as they had little fear of being questioned on the deed. The leaders of this daring plan were some of the nobles indebted to the impious in large sums ; they were thirsty for the blood of infidels and full of greed for booty.—Chronicles of William of Newbury.

(2.) Historic towns, "York," p. 60. J. Raine.

where he placed his valuables. Within a few hours a handful of the hated Jews were all that remained in the city ; for the majority, after a useless attempt to assuage the rancour of their foes by offering them huge sums of money and lavish presents, followed Joachim who had permanently retreated to the castle. The Jews for the moment began to entertain fond hopes that the fierce determination of the mob to slay them, might, as in Lincoln, prove only an ephemeral fever into which the people had been thrown by the Crusade-advocating clergy, but fate had ordained it otherwise. Conceive their awful horror when they discovered that the Governor was in clandestine negotiation for their surrender en masse and the price he was to receive was already agreed upon. So convinced were they that the Governor would faithfully perform his promise that when he, on one occasion, left the castle to visit the town they decided to close the gates, refuse him admission, and await a siege.

Their ablest men then manned the walls prepared to sell their lives and those of their dear ones only after a bitter struggle. The enraged Governor on discovering that the Jews had possessed themselves of Clifford's Tower made instant application to the Sheriff of the County for a body of soldiers to assist in retaking the Castle, and after some delay and reflection he granted him an armed force. The mob now assumed the attitude the Jews had suspected; those who had not been either sufficiently expeditious or suspicious to fly to whatever refuge the tower offered them, were hacked to death by the maces and axes of the military and the rabble. Their goods were plundered and their dwellings set ablaze. The Governor bringing up more men to reinforce the besiegers, with the most fervid eloquence incited them to demolish the fortress. To fan them into fury he recited the noble exploits of their heretic-hunting countrymen at Norwich, Stamford and other towns. The siege was then commenced in real earnest. The uncontrollable fury and dreadful yells with which the maddened mob swarmed to the attack so terrified the Sheriff that he in vain attempted to recall his permission for the assault, but the cruel passions of the besiegers must now find a vent ; no earthly power could still the fury he had himself assisted, by his action, in raising. For six full days the beleagured men fought with that desperate courage begotten of agony. "The clergy fanned the rabble into yet hotter flame by encouraging their mad fury as holy zeal, promising salvation to all who shed the blood of a Jew ; and they themselves, in strange contradiction to the professions signified by the garbs they wore, joined in the affray, often heading the attack.[1] "The unshrinking courage,

(1.) Chamber's Miscellany. Vol. XVII. Article, "The Jews," p. 4.

the noble self-defence and heroic endurance of the hapless Hebrews could little avail them against the wild excitement and immense multitude of their assailants ; yet still they resisted with vigour. Accused as they were of never handling the weapons or experiencing the emotions of the warrior it was now shown that circumstance and not character was at fault. That spirit of true heroism peculiar to their race in the olden times might indeed appear crushed and lost beneath the heavy fetters of oppression but it burned still, ready to burst into life and energy whenever occasion demanded its display." [1]The besiegers, who expected to find an easy prey, began to lose courage ; and their ranks being thinned by constant desertions (for many anticipated that with such an unusually large and organized force creating a riot and disturbing the peace of the city, the tidings would inevitably reach the ears of the King, who would doubtless inflict condign punishment) the Governor was on the point of ordering the cessation of hostilities and even enforcing it by arms if necessary.

The mob considering themselves baulked were about to disperse when up rose a white robed monk, who implored them with tears in his eyes not to relinquish such a holy undertaking. Each morning of the siege he had received the Sacrament, read Mass, sprinkled himself with Holy Water, and conducted a special solemn service invoking the aid of the Lord and begging him to deliver into his hands the few heroic Jews who had opposed their steadfastness to the hatred of the infuriated mob. The well aimed missile directed by a Jewish hand cut off his fury-stirring eloquence for ever. Yet his zeal had given his auditors fresh vigour and renewed their determination to overcome the Jews.

The scene inside the castle was very different. Nothing daunted so long as their provisions, which had been doled out very scantily, had sufficed to save them from actual starvation, they made a noble stand, and even now that ultimate hunger stared at them with her basilisk eyes, they fought most gallantly, but the dearth of provisions became so evident and the cries of their assailants so fierce that they grew disheartened. For six days they had successfully repelled the enemy, but the rabble still awaited their capitulation and rushed to the attack with frantic cries : authority and organization there were none, they gnashed their teeth and foamed like men bereft of reason, thirsting for the blood of those whose only desire was to follow the religion to which the founder of Christianity had so rigidly adhered. The Jews now realized their position, they saw no alternative to death but baptism, and, as may be imagined, they were not anxious to embrace the Religion

(1.) Chamber's Miscellany. Vol. XVII. Article, "The Jews," p. 4.

of "Love" and "Goodwill to all Men," after having witnessed such tangible proofs of its mode of propagation.

Matters had come to a crisis, further resistance could serve no other purpose than to increase the fury of their foes, mercy was not to be expected from them on other than one condition, and renounce their allegiance to their ancestral creed they would not. An assembly was therefore summoned to the Council Room there to deliberate as to what was to be done. Rabbi Yom Tob of Tobigny, a pious white-haired old man learned in the Talmud (of which he was a glossator), who had come over from France to visit his English brethren, advised them to kill one another. "Men of Israel," said this noble old hero, "the inscrutable God of our fathers, to whom none can say, "What dost thou?" desires that we should this day die for our holy religion. Death is inevitable! but it is left us to choose whether we will die nobly as Jews or fall into the hands of the Gentiles and desert the creed of our ancestors. Let each die as befits the scion of the House of Abraham for the Law. For that Law which we have cherished from the first hour it was given us, and the belief in eternal life which it communicates, can we do less than die? Do we desire for a short extension of our span of life to be faithless to our race? As we all prefer a glorious death to an ignominious life, let us render back to our God with our own hands the lives which he has given us. Did our brethren in Frankfort and Spiers turn craven when death menaced them? Did the men of Worms fear when the pikes of the Crusaders were pointed at their breasts? Let us die for the Law! Posterity shall behold its solemn truths sealed with our blood, and our death, while it confirms our sincerity shall impart strength to the wanderers of Israel. Death is before our eyes, we have only to choose an easy and an honourable one. If we fall into the hands of our enemies, which fate it is clear we cannot elude, our death will be ignoble and cruel; for these Christians, who picture the spirit of God in a dove and confide in the meek Jesus, are athirst for our blood and prowl like wolves around us. Let us escape their tortures and surrender, as our ancestors have done before us, our lives with our hands to our Creator. Our omniscient God calls for us. Children of the Patriarchs and kinsmen of the Prophets, be not unworthy of the call.?

The aged Rabbi, who wept bitterly as he spoke, then resumed his seat and joined in the sobs of his auditors as they considered his words. Though it was dear to them, they would not purchase life through dishonour, for, to their undying glory and to the everlasting fame of the Jewish nation, the vast majority (all except a few timid youths and maidens) signified their approval of his suggestion and said that, though

it was a hard counsel, the Rabbi had spoken well. Then with touching dignity the hoary-headed old patriot rose from his seat and ordered all who disapproved of his plan to leave them and depart in peace. To baulk the avarice of their implacable foes they burned their priceless treasures. Those which were incombustible they buried out of sight and immediately afterwards set fire to the portion of the castle in which they were located. Then these noble spirits, high placed in the scroll of Israel's glory began—like the Zealots of old had done, when they had witnessed the destruction of the Temple—to slay each other. The nobler were accorded the melancholy distinction of receiving the death stroke from the hands of the Rabbi, who was himself the last to perish, after having slaughtered Joachim. Joachim had killed his beloved wife Anna with a large square-bladed knife (the weapon all had used) used for the slaying of cattle. On that fateful 17th day of March, that day that has erected an imperishable monument to the grandest promptings of the human heart, that day the story of which should for ever hush the foes of poor tortured Israel, that day to find an equal to which we search the histories of nations and find no compeer, each father took his children, and amid wails and tears drew the knife across their throats, then the same gory weapon, wreaking with the blood of those dearest to him in life, was by the same hand sheathed in the self-unbared bosom of her that gave them birth, ere it found a resting place in his own noble and heroic heart. Not a sound had betrayed to the besiegers the awful scenes that had transpired ; for when they at daybreak renewed the attack they beheld a few timid youths and children rushing wildly upon the battlements, shrieking and wringing their hands and entreating for mercy. The corpses they had cast over the walls quickly told the fearful story their lips could not repeat. The gates being opened to the victors on promise of mercy, the heartless assassins piously crossing themselves poured through the gates and murdered everyone, saying that it was wicked to keep faith with heretics.

"The gentry of the neighbourhood, who were all indebted to the Jews, ran to the Cathedral where the bonds were kept and made a bonfire of the papers before the altar."[1]

The Compiler of the Annals of Waverley in relating these frightful events blesses the Almighty for thus delivering over an impious race to destruction. King Richard on his return from Palestine, professed to be deeply incensed at this terrible massacre, and to give colour to his anger, the principal nobles implicated were constrained to fly to Scotland for a brief period. He converted the properties of three of the wealthiest of those who had fled (Robert of Ghent, Richard Malebys,

(1.) Hume, "History of England." Vol. I., p. 369.

and Robert of Turnham,) to the Crown, and deposed the prime instigator of the affair, the Governor of York from his office.

Nothwithstanding that the King had so summarily punished the perpetrators of these atrocities, a further outbreak disgraced the bloody records of English history. On the eighteenth of March, Bury St. Edmunds, a town already rendered notable for its heretic-hunting zeal, stigmatized itself by the atrocious murder of 750 defenceless Jews of both sexes. Not one soul remained to bear in memory the sufferings of this martyred community. This massacre, together with the preceding one at York initiated a monstrous persecution of the Jews throughout England ; a series of the most awful massacres, so awful that the most callous reader involuntarily shudders when reminded of them, spread through the country ; and this was done to perpetuate the fame of one who had taught peace on earth and goodwill to all men. In a few towns the citizens had sufficient acumen to recognize their financial utility and most magnanimously sold their protection to the richer Jews. During the fever of the Crusades the fiery warriors of the Cross incited by the fanatical monks butchered the kinsmen of the Prophets and Apostles without discrimination. Grey hairs were no protection, smiling infancy did not avail, their moral and upright lives, their unswerving rectitude, their staunch attachment to their race which might have moved the heart of a Stoic, their heroism amid the most grievous afflictions, their earnest prayers (prayer was ever the panoply of the Jew) did not damp the ardour of their inexorable executioners. Infidel-extirpating ardour did not wane when confronted with the tears of mothers, who in the deepest slough of agony slew their own offspring, or the resolution of husbands, who had slain their own wives, preferring that they should thus die, rather than fall into the hands of the lustful Crusaders. The condition of the Jews at this time was indeed pitiable ; a debauched monk or a drink-besotten friar had only to utter a few words to throw the inhabitants of a town into a paroxysm of uncontrollable rage against them ; "the most palatable order that could be given was for an attack upon the Jewish quarter,"[1] and a frenzied mob was not to be restrained from indulging in this their favourite diversion. Richard's Crown officers, doubtless taking the cue from his own apathy in the matter, generally resolved on principle to be unfair to the Jews. Walter Mapes, who dispensed justice on his behalf, when requested to swear to deal equitably to all, always refused to promise the exercise of justice towards the Jews whom he publicly and by name excluded from his oath.

(1.) Hume.

John (1199-1216) at first treated the Jews most equitably and even regarded them with a certain measure of favour, advancing them to responsible posts, protecting them from insult and outrage, and clearly defining their rights and liberties; but this was when he did not need money! As soon as his coffers became exhausted, he suddenly reversed his tactics and rendered their lives intolerable. Chased from country to country like beasts of the forest, their wealth, ever the cause of Christian cupidity, made them the cynosure of John's financial aptitude.[1] Inured to sufferings as they were, they were yet to suffer agony both mental and physical, in the relation of which we reach the very crux of cowardly oppression and systematized tyranny. John, ever arbitrary and whimsical, declared the Jews to be "the King's bondsmen" and taxable at his royal will; but not before he had induced large numbers of wealthy Continental Jews to settle in England, did he commence his periodical demands for money. For the immigrants who, after a life-long oppression abroad, had vainly hoped for peace on English shores, John's despotic actions proved a sad awakening indeed. Once on his shores he submitted them to a series of unheard of extortions.[2] These he initiated by imposing a tallage of 66,000 marks upon the unprotected sufferers, and to terrify them into rapid payment of this large sum every member of the ill-fated race in the country was without distinction of age, sex, or position roughly dragged to prison; the most cruel and inconceivable tortures were ruthlessly applied to extract from them the repositories of their supposed wealth; many were maimed, blinded, lamed and tormented beyond all conception; numbers died under the indescribably horrid treatment meted out to them.

From one old man, Abraham of Bristol, was demanded the sum of 10,000 marks, probably the amount levied on the community of which he was the head. He refused to ransom himself at such a price and was tortured in vain. Then the King ordered that one of his teeth should be struck out each day until he paid it. The

(1.) An appeal was made to him to drive out the Jews, the petitioners adding with unconscious humour that he should leave them just money enough to take them safely out of the country. The encouragement which he had at one time given to this useful and despised race seems to have offended many who afterwards took a fearful revenge.—"Stephen Langton," by Edmund Maurice. p. 50.

(2.) The persecution of the Jews must have given a serious blow to trade. That this persecution was more successful than the outburst that opened the reign of Richard is clear from the account given by a contemporary chronicler, who illustrates the impartiality of John's oppressions by a picture of the Cistercians and the Jews begging their bread in rivalry.—*Ibid.* p. 150.

wretched man yielded on the eighth day.[1] In Bristol, however, the anti-Jewish feeling was most acute; John had often stayed its onslaughts upon the Jews as a means of fining both parties. "While the King made the Jews give him whatever he demanded, he took care that no one else should injure them, for they were the most profitable possessions of the Crown. Accordingly in 1177, the burgesses of Bristol had been fined 80 marks for Sturmis the Jew, whom they probably had slain."[2]

To John it was a mere bagatelle, and a very frequent occurrence to present to any knight, who had succeeded in obtaining his favour, the house and property of some unfortunate Jew, whom he would especially turn out of his house and home. It was thus that he fulfilled the loud and specious promises of protection he had made to his Jewish subjects.[3] Fired by his ignoble example, the Barons made most outrageous and murderous demands upon the now impoverished and in many instances homeless Jews.

"The brave assertors of the 'Magna Charta,' men who fought for human liberty, did not scruple to plunder the Jews of London. "Their treasures were seized and their homes demolished." [4]Their adherents dragged the very tombstones from the cemeteries and used them to repair the walls of the city (1210).

John did not interfere as he had done six years previously on behalf of his London Jews. In 1204 he had written a sharp letter to the Mayor and Barons of London severely deprecating the numerous attacks upon that people, "I shall require their blood at your hands, take an armed force if necessary to quell these riots," but this was before his contest with the Pope, and when he was not so sorely pressed for money. Stephen Langton, Archbishop of Canterbury, applauded such consummate bravery as heartily as his saintly predecessor, Thomas à Beckett would have done. He, in conjunction with the King and the unscrupulous Barons, harassed the Jews for years without cessation.[5]

(1.) History of Bristol, p. 28, William Hunt.

(2.) *Ibid.*

(3.) John was hateful and contemptible in a degree, he deserted his father, he deceived his brother, he murdered his nephew, he oppressed his people. He had the pride that made enemies and wanted the courage to fight them. A Knight without truth, a King without justice, a Christian without faith.—Dr. White, "The Eighteen Christian Centuries," p. 290.

(4.) Milman, "History of the Jews," Vol. III. p. 241.

(5.) The Magna Charta provided (article 29) "that the body of no free man may be taken, nor imprisoned, nor distrained, nor outlawed, nor exiled, nor destroyed in any manner, and that the King shall not overcome him, save by the judgment of his peers, or the Law of the land. And (article 30) that justice be neither sold, delayed nor refused." But of course the Jews were not freemen nor was justice a privilege of which, they as heretics, could claim the benefit.

Stephen Langton decreed that "Christians shall not hold communion with the Jews, or sell them food under pain of excommunication." This prelate took an active part in promulgating the spirit of tyranny that afterwards became such an important feature in the English Church. The intolerant enactment referred to might be regarded as England's ratification of the Canons passed against the Jews at the Fourth Lateran Council in 1215, one paragraph of which loudly interdicted all commerce between Christians and Jews. John added to their misery by, at about the same time, presenting many of their finest synagogues to the Church, and their priceless Oriental manuscripts became his munificent gift to the University at Oxford, a town where long before the University was established, there had existed Jewish Halls of Learning, in which Mathematics, Hebrew, Medicine, Astronomy, and Science, were taught to Jew and Christian alike.[1]

In 1222 Stephen Langton summoned a Council which enacted the most inimical laws against the Jews; in fact the chief aim of this assemblage seems to have been to subvert humanity.

During the minority of Henry III, the Regents found it necessary to firmly handle the Jewish question; they, though not releasing them from the many restrictions under which they laboured, protected them from maltreatment. Yet they could not—however benign their intentions—counteract the labours of the priesthood, who inculcated enmity and injustice to the Jews as Christian duties. The ordinary Englishman regarded the Jew as some sort of ravenous animal, longing for the downfall of all non-Jews and elated at their sufferings. The cataclysm of foolish charges born of hatred and nursed by envious bigotry found universal credence. The Jews were Child Crucifiers, Host Desecrators, Ritual Murderers, Usurers and Fiends incarnate, thirsting for Christian blood. The mere utterance of the term Jew was tantamount to expressing in words every species and degree of depravity, hatred and heartlessness. The word was shunned as unfit for modest ears and the persons unfortunate enough to bear that name were to be allowed to live in verification of Apostolic prophecy only.

(1.) The earliest stone houses were probably due to them just as at Lincoln; and at Oxford nearly all the larger houses which were afterwards converted into Halls bore traces of Jewish origin in their names, Moysey's (Moses) Hall, Lombard and Jacob Halls. The Guildhall itself was owned in Henry III's time by Moses, the son of Isaac, from whom it is supposed to have come to the King by escheat and he gave it to the citizens by his Charter.—"A History of Oxford," pp. 22, 23. C. W. Boase.

The commercial classes envied their wealth but the lower orders oppressed them on sheer traditional grounds. They were compelled to wear a distinctive mark, a white cloth in the shape of two tablets of the Law, upon their breasts. Jews attempting to enter the country without permission were ill-treated and imprisoned. Henry on his accession approved of the move of his Regents, who had relegated to a number of the responsible burgesses of each town the duty of shielding the Jews from injustice and oppression other than such as was legalised. He gave the Jewish question his gravest consideration, for he was prompted by motives of sheer expediency to do so. He deplored the egregious persecution to which they were subject throughout the kingdom and the seeming inability of the State to repress it; he set himself to adjust their grievances and remedy those glaring defects in his code which tolerated, or rather directed, their infliction. The hatred with which the Jews were regarded in the eyes of the Law was thus greatly relaxed; and they were the recipients of an inestimable concession, when they learned that they were no longer amenable to the Clerical courts. Picture a tribunal composed of a body of gloomy and bigoted monks, then we can imagine how much justice a Jewish recusant might receive at the hands of these prejudiced judges! Their joy was, however, counter-balanced by the Royal order directing the rigid enforcement of the law, which compelled them to wear the hated Jew Badge. This was ostensibly for their protection, it being urged that if they were compelled to wear a special outward token of their nationality, no one would ill treat them and plead ignorance of the fact that they were Jews; but the results of this kindly protection amply show that an ulterior motive prompted the measure; for assaults upon them were in no wise diminished, nor was reparation to be obtained any easier than during the two preceding reigns.

Many Continental Jews lured by plausible promises emigrated to England as their fathers had done in the reign of John. They preferred to reside in a country that maintained a semblance of justice, however faint, to being harassed in the different European countries. They were at this time "everywhere the objects of public insult and oppression, frequently of general massacre."[1] Their superior commercial knowledge and influence was only an additional menace to them, for on landing many were immediately seized and by order of the Warden of the Cinque Ports forcibly detained. They were ultimately released after undertaking not to quit the country

(1.) Hallam's "Europe during the Middle Ages." Vol. III. p. 354.

without leave.[1] The ecclesiastical authorities—whose antipathy to the Jews appeared invulnerable—were highly indignant at this act of common justice. Notable among these was Hugh, Bishop of Lincoln, who was particularly fierce in his enforcement of that edict already referred to, which prohibited Christians from selling food to the Jews. The latter were classed as irreclaimable infidels and in perpetual excommunication for their heresy and the practice of usury. The latter charge was very general and ever used as a means of holding up the Jew to obloquy by stamping his callings with infamy. The Jewish money-lenders performed a necessary function in the kingdom, and as the risks they ran in granting loans were colossal, they were compelled to charge commensurate profits. They were encouraged, even compelled, by their sovereign to follow this detested avocation, who, in the words of a historian, thus used them as a sponge to drain the wealth of his subjects, which he might the more readily squeeze periodically into his own coffers. European history is full of this charge (strange charge since every other calling was practically denied them by law) against the Jew, yet we rarely hear voiced the rapacity of the "Caorsini" and the extortionate interest they exacted. These usurers conducted a successful system of money-lending for their employers the Popes; their rate of interest was incomparably higher than that of the Jews (5% per month after the third month or about 45%, while the Jew generally charged two pence per month on each pound or 10%), but the former were very devout Catholics and the ramifications of Papal investment, therefore the Jews who had not been pronounced infallible by a council suffered contumely better merited by their detractors.

In reviewing this reign Picciotto instances cases where the children of Israel went from village to village and from town to town, vainly begging for a little bread for which they offered large sums, till they perished from sheer hunger and exhaustion. Happily the diabolical law which prevented them from buying food was ultimately mitigated, although other outlets for the popular hatred against the Jews were not closed. Had this fiendish enactment obtained for any length of time the benighted children of Jacob would most certainly have starved to death in whole communities.

Henry having clamorous demands upon his depleted exchequer tried in vain every feudal abuse and art of oppression to replenish his treasury, but found no better plan than to extract money from

---

(1.) Picciotto's "Sketches of Anglo-Jewish History," p. 12.

the Jews.[1] To them he was the congener of John, and like him plundered them when in need by every means in his power. He was not loth in resorting to any expedient, however foul, to add to his wealth by torturing and hounding them. In the year 1230 they were ordered—under threats of the direst punishment—to deliver up one third of their total movable goods to the needy ruler ; to this cruel demand they had absolutely no option but to comply. In return for the vast sums of money thus obtained, Henry magnanimously presented one of their handsomest Synagogues to the Austrian monks resident in London. That body of licentious men known as the " Friars Penitent " on another occasion finding themselves in want of a place of prayer dispensed with the formality of a Royal presentation and quietly annexed another Jews' Place of Worship. Those dispossessed made no appeal to the State knowing, as a shrewd writer observes, " how rarely the Laws of England interfered on behalf of the King's Jewish subjects, though they would have been somewhat rigidly obeyed had the sufferers been the offenders."

In 1235 it was enacted " that no Christian shall become servant to a Jew," this law doubtless sought to show those legislated against their utter helplessness, and their dependency upon the lenity of their Christian masters.

In 1236 the populace of Norwich rose, plundered the Jewish community, and razed their houses to the ground ; hardly a single Hebrew dwelling remained whole, so furious was the attack.[2]

In 1239 an influential Templar named Geoffrey ordered a general massacre of the Jews ; four months after the unequivocal wish of that knight, they were appalled by an order bearing the Royal seal commanding them to quit the country or as an alternative pay a sum of 2,000 marks for no other reason, than that they were Jews and the only victims whom Henry could, when in need, lay his hands upon and successfully wring without interference of Pope, Clergy, and Barons, who would, had the victims been other than Jews, most certainly have restrained him from such a cruel deed of shameless injustice. During the latter part of his reign hardly a month passed without some charge being lodged against them, some of them most ridiculous, others absolutely impossible. Murdering expeditions into the Jewries were quite common and to add to the misery of their wretched inhabitants, the

---

(1.) Hallam's " Europe." Vol. III. p. 238.

(2.) When in 1236 a Jewish child that had been converted and baptized was forcibly recovered by the Jews, and complaint was made of it, the Jews were for a time imprisoned in the Castle.—" History of Oxford," p. 23. C. W. Boase.

old and obsolete accusations of crucifying and circumcising Christian children were brought forward, and although these indictments only found birth in the minds of the lower orders and were only now believed by the most credulous, they were attended by the same financial results. Although the absurd charge had been invariably disproved it was found a much better investment than the usury accusation, it paid much better but it could not be worked too often.

The Jewish purse was drained for every royal function, for every national festivity or contingency, yet they were not allowed to participate in any of the rejoicings, their adherence to their ancestral creed had deprived them of all right to be considered as human beings.[1] How the Jew proved a haven of rest to needy princes from the storms aroused by importunate creditors is shown by the following incident :—

Immediately before the marriage of Prince (afterwards King) Edward, who was lamentably indigent, it was fortunately discovered on the suggestion of his nobles, that the Norwich Jews (note that Norwich contained the richest body of Jews in England) had circumcised a Christian youth. The seven wealthiest Jews of that town were formally arraigned before the indignant monarch and sentenced to be hanged, drawn, and quartered. It is perhaps unnecessary to state what became of their riches after the faithful execution of the furious sentence !

An accusation fraught with such a lucrative issue was not allowed to fall into abeyance. A Jew resident in this same borough—a borough ever responsive to every call for the malignant treatment of the Jews—named Jacob, and of course exceedingly rich, was charged with the same offence, but let us here admit to the credit of Henry that he did not resort to this ruse, until he was sorely in need of money and his resources had been drained by his incursions into Scotland, leaving him unable to pay his marauders. The puerility of the indictment was demonstrated by the medical evidence adduced by the accused ; this established at once beyond all dispute that circumcision could not possibly have been performed. The Bishop of Norwich was thereupon appointed president of a tribunal composed

---

(1) " In 1240 two uncles of the Queen, Thomas, Count of Savoy, and Boniface, his younger brother. visited England. King Henry, out of complaisance to his consort received and entertained them with such magnificence, that not knowing how to support the charge by honest means he sent word to the Jews that unless they presented him with 20,000 marks he would expel them all the kingdom and thus he supplied himself with money for his unjust generosity. —Strickland, " Lives of the Queens of England." Vol. I., p. 199.

of priests and monks, to whom was relegated the duty of investigating the case. These narrow minded gentlemen, whose casuistry consisted in burning people and polemics in anathematising those who dissented from their views, were not going to fetter themselves by such trifles as the laws of evidence, when upon their decision depended the liberation of a heretic. Nor did the amazing number of contradictory statements the protagonist of this travesty made in his purchased evidence affect in the least his calm and dispassionate judges. Jacob was burned alive at the stake, as was also several of his co-religionists, who had committed the flagrant crime of being Jews of Norwich. The inevitable sequel, the wholesale confiscation of their goods, added greatly to this awful murder of so many guiltless men. Compared to this flagitious crime of Henry's the mulct of 18,000 marks which he had inflicted upon the Jews of England in 1232 and squeezed from them to the last farthing by every conceivable species of cruelty and high-handed despotism, and that of 10,000 marks in 1234 also obtained through ruthless violence, torture, terror and banishment, are perhaps insignificant.

The Jews of England had been frequently robbed and their houses looted on the most flimsy pretexts—often without even these—but the ignoble spectacle of a judicial massacre was, for England, comparatively novel, for the riots these assassins indulged in were against the theory of the law, though the legal representatives of the Crown were often in collusion with the people ; this is, after reflection upon the mild and infrequent punishment meted out to the delinquents, obvious.

"Early in 1254 Eleanor received instructions from the King to summon a Parliament for the purpose of demanding aid for carrying on the war in Gascony, but finding it impossible to obtain a grant Queen Eleanor sent the King 500 marks from her own private coffers, as a New Year's gift for the immediate relief of his more pressing exigencies. Henry then directed his brother to exact from the luckless Jews the sum required for the nuptial festivities of his heir. He also called upon the Jews to furnish the funds for the splendid festivities which he thought proper to ordain in honour of the nuptials between his brother and the sister of his cousin. One Jew, the rich Aaron of York, was compelled to pay no less than 400 marks of gold and 4000 marks of silver ; and the Jews of London were mulcted in like proportion."[1]

When one or two Jews had been accused of clipping coin (probably not without some plausible grounds ; for the Jews are as prone as

(1.) Strickland's "Lives of the Queens of England." Vol. I. p. 254-263.

any other nation to possess a few unworthy members of their community), the direst barbarities were resorted to against them, though it was well known that many of the nobles had been caught red-handed in the act of sweating money, and that numerous Christians depended for a livelihood upon this nefarious traffic, yet when the convicted few—for whom every Jew in the kiugdom had to suffer—knew that the very air they breathed had to be purchased, we are inclined to condone their offence. Though we pay no premium to crime we must take cognisance of circumstance.

Shortly after this a dual accusation was made against the Jews. They were charged with attempting to set London on fire and of plotting for the dismemberment of the kingdom. Comment upon this vacuous charge is needless, its absurdity is as obvious as its motive. We pass this puerility by and reserve our criticisms for indictments that possess at least some slender shred of possibility. Yet such stupid and senseless falsehoods as these were the cause of the most harrowing tortures being inflicted upon the unhappy Hebrews by the immaculate executors of justice who did not hesitate to roast alive many of the unhappy people. Immense sums were again rung from them under threats differing only in their fury. A Jew of Hereford wishing to ensure his daughter against further taxation paid 5,000 marks as a permanent relief. Another Jew, Aaron of York, was judicially plundered of 30,000 marks in seven years. The vastness of these sums is best realized when we bear in mind that Robert, Duke of Normandy, made over his duchy and coronet to Rufus for 10,000 marks yearly.

Hume, the great historian, sums the many exactions to which the Jews were during this reign subjected to, in a succinct paragraph of his solid work.[1] He says :—"Our ideas scarcely come up to the extortions which we find to have been practised upon them. In the year 1241, 20,000 marks were exacted from them : two years after money was again extorted and one Jew alone, Aaron of York, was compelled to pay above 4,000 marks. In 1250 Henry renewed his oppressions and the same Aaron was compelled to pay him 30,000 marks on an accusation of forgery. The high penalty imposed upon him, and which it is thought he was able to pay is rather a presumption of his innocence than of his guilt. In 1255 the King demanded 8,000 marks from the Jews and threatened to hang them if they refused compliance ; they now lost all patience and (through their chief Rabbi, Elias) desired to retire with their effects out of the kingdom. Henry delivered over the Jews to the Earl of Cornwall,

(1.) History of England. Vol. I, p. 360.

that those whom the one brother had flayed the other might embowel." Continuing, the same author says :—"One tallage laid upon the Jews in 1243 amounted to 60,000 marks, a sum equal to the whole yearly revenue of the Crown, and to give a better pretence for extortions, the improbable and absurd accusation which has at different times been advanced against that nation was revived in England, that they had crucified a child in derision of the sufferings of Christ. Eighteen were hanged at once for this crime though it is nowise credible that even the antipathy borne them by the Christians, and the oppressions under which they laboured would ever have pushed them to be guilty of that dangerous enormity."

When Southampton, Derby, and Newcastle-on-Tyne, severally petitioned Henry to sanction their forcible ejection of the Jewish residents of their boroughs and also to preclude them from future admission to those towns, he received the petitions very graciously and granted what was asked of him. Henry made determined attempts to effect the conversion of the Jews but was invariably unsuccessful ; the many allurements held out always failed. Oxford seems to have been a great centre of attention to him ; Boase tells us that "there were preaching friars sent to convert the Jews and Henry established a house of converts next to the Guildhall."

Some of the rent, however, went to his other house of converts in Chancery Lane, London. Above the synagogue in Fish Street the "Blue Boar Inn" was an old Jewish dwelling which Henry also gave to the house of converts in London. It was a penal, or rather capital offence, for a Christian to accept Judaism ; thus, when a Deacon had abjured the Christian faith for Judaism it was thought that he had either lost his senses or was possessed by a demon. Whether the motives by which he was prompted were sincere, or whether his object was ulterior it is difficult to say. "He was convicted before a council and being first degraded was afterwards sentenced to the stake by the secular court and burnt accordingly. Church and State thus united in this judicial act by which a man was condemned to death for an offence against religion."[1]

In 1256 there occurred an event perhaps unique in history. Henry convened a Jewish Parliament at Worcester. The Sheriffs of each town were ordered by Royal mandate to return the six richest Jews residing in their particular borough and though these were to represent the remainder of their co-religionists, their constituents had no voice in their election, nor as the late learned Dean of St. Paul's says, with a touch of his gravest irony, were His Majesty's

(1.) Dean Hook's "Lives of the Archbishops of Canterbury," Vol. II., p. 753.

faithful Jewish subjects allowed freedom of speech nor were they admitted to the rights of debate. The poor trembling Israelites assembled on the date indicated with mingled sentiments of fear and hope. Henry appeared before the unhappy Jews whom he had so frequently and mercilessly fleeced and in lachrymose tones lamented his depleted exchequer and asked them to advise him how to obtain 20,000 marks. Instantly perceiving his meaning, they informed their troubled monarch that their wealth which he appeared to deem absolutely inexhaustible had been drained by the barons, who omitted no occasion of wringing large sums of money from them by the most cruel of methods, and the constant demands he himself made and never failed to enforce upon them. The King, however, paid no heed whatever to their temperate protest against the harsh injustice both he and his nobles had meted out to them, and proceeded to nominate six members of this sinecure Parliament as his collectors, informing his hapless victims that he held them responsible for the production of this enormous sum. They made the most strenuous efforts to procure it, vainly thinking that could they do so they would permanently secure themselves by making this final sacrifice to his rapacity, but owing to the vastness of the sum they did not succeed by the stipulated date, and were therefore, together with the entire Jewish Parliament and their wives and children cast into dark and damp dungeons and their detained till the last penny had been wrung from the Jews. This was mainly effected by confiscation. The whole incident recalls the cruel deed of John who, when he imprisoned his Jewish subjects forfeited their entire wealth to the Crown. During the three years following this atrocious extortion, the colossal sum of 60,000 golden marks was squeezed from them, no enormity being too gross for perpetration provided money could be obtained. This amount is not inclusive of 8,000 marks their Royal protector dragged from them under the threat of transportation to the wildest and most boggy uninhabited part of Ireland. Had the Hebrews been able to sow pence and reap marks they would still have have found it impossible to meet the incessant demands made upon them by King, Barons, and People,[1] who all vied with each other in their extortion

(1) To the great mass of the people the Jews during the whole of this period were objects of the bitterest hatred. They looked on them as an accursed race, who by adhering to the religion professed their consent to the great crime of their forefathers. Reports were continually circulated of blasphemies uttered and cruelties exercised by them in derision of the Christian worship. Hence the protection (?) of the sovereign was not always a shield to them against insult and oppression, and in times of riot or sedition many of them fell victims to the rage of their enemies.—Rev. Dr. Lingard, "History of England." Vol. II., Chap, vii.

and oppression. The Barons, who had devoted all their lives to a struggle for freedom, who had sworn to protect the meanest from injustice, who had pledged themselves by binding oaths to the shielding of the weak and the vengeance of the wronged, hounded the Jews to death, considering them without the pale of human beings. Nothing marks more eloquently in history the utter helplessness of the Jews. Denied the simplest rights of human beings, refused permission to enter the kingdom as other than the King's "Serfs," the very assertors of justice and liberty were their most pitiless persecutors.

An instance of the egregious injustice that characterised this reign is furnished by the case of a Jew, Abraham of Berkhampstead, who was charged with disrespectful treatment of the image of the Virgin Mary and who after presenting Richard, Duke of Cornwall, with 700 marks, was acquitted.

A most scrupulous and painstaking investigation into the property and income of the Jews was next initiated to better enable Henry to frame his future exactions with reason. As a result additional sums were torn from them by methods the reverse of gentle. But a greater calamity was spreading fear in the hearts of the Jews, and ferocious resolutions in the minds of their adversaries. A trite accusation, the crucifixion of a Christian child was renewed against them and the same proof as at Norwich was adduced. Hugh of Lincoln became a canonized martyr and to avenge his unsubstantiated murder ninety one of the Lincoln Jews were imprisoned in the Tower of London, whither they had been conveyed in manacled batches. A royal inquiry proclaimed all the Jews of England privy to the deed, and by some unknown and inexplicable process of logic convicted them of complicity. As a result nineteen of the most respected and learned Lincoln Jews were dragged to the gallows by wild horses, and amid the cheers and the unfeigned joy of the spectators were hung on a specially erected one. The trial and sentence were, says Dean Milman, the greatest proofs brought forward in support of a story a great part of which contradicts itself.

Many unjust canons affecting the Jews were promulgated during the last years of Henry's reign. They must not have Christian servants, they must not eat meat during Lent, they must not hold theological arguments with the clergy,[1] they must not wound the susceptibility of Christians by praying aloud in their synagogues, they

---

(1.) Why it is perhaps unnecessary to mention. The keen intellect of the Jew found a wide scope in religious disputation. St. Jerome has accused them of an inordinate love of argument which he is prudent enough to condemn.

must not give their children Christian names, lest they elude the persecution which was their patrimony; and worst fate of all the supervision of their morals was relegated to the clergy. "These," says Chambers, "men, who both professors of religion and peace should have been the first to protect the injured and calm the turbulent passions of the populace, were the constant inciters to persecution and cruelty, believing by a most extraordinary hallucination that to maltreat the Jews was the surest evidence of Christian zeal."

Henry's cruel persecution of his Jewish subjects reached its culmination in their actual sale to his brother Richard, Duke of Cornwall. Richard paid 5,000 marks for them and they and their effects were made over to him for this sum. The agreement bearing Henry's seal is still in existence. He was further vested with plenary power over their persons and properties. Richard being ultimately pressed, but still loth to part with his lucrative purchase, was compelled to mortgage them. The unhappy mortgaged Jews, after passing through many hands, being bought and sold like negro slaves, became the property of their bitterest enemies, the Caorsini bankers, before passing back to Henry. The purchasers invariably discussed the probability of another general massacre of the Hebrews with their vendors before buying, trusting that by pointing out the serious risks they ran they might obtain them for a smaller sum. Richard having become "King of the Romans," Henry next sold them to his eldest son, Prince Edward, who sold them at a large profit to some merchants of Dauphiny in France, but Henry eventually reclaimed them.

Even now they had not drained their cup of sorrow to its dregs, for during the prolonged and fearful tumult that arose from the baronial defiance of the King, the turbulent factionaries would not let the Jew escape unscathed. In 1263 five hundred of these woe-begone people were roughly seized without any authority but that of the barons and incarcerated in prison. The immense sums wrung from the richer ones were the means of securing the dastardly Hugh Dispenser a huge ransom. The remainder were despoiled, their wives and daughters violated and themselves brutally attacked. "Eager for plunder and athirst for blood and finding that they were likely to be disappointed in the object which had led them to range themselves on the side of the reforming barons and their great dictator, Montfort, the populace raised a dreadful uproar in London against the unhappy Jews. At the sound of St. Paul's great bell a numerous mob sallied forth led on by Stephen Buckrell, the Marshal of London, and Fitz-John, a powerful baron. They killed and murdered many

of the wretched people without mercy. "The ferocious leader, Fitz John, ran through with his sword (in cold blood) Kok Ben Abraham, the wealthiest Hebrew resident in London. Besides plundering and killing 500 of this devoted race, the mob turned the rest out of their beds, undressed as they were, keeping them so the whole night. The next morning they commenced the work of plunder with such outrageous yells, that the Queen, who was then in the town, being seized with mortal terror got into her barge with her great ladies intending to escape by water to Windsor Castle."[1] Leicester demanded a share of the plunder with which the base poltroon, Hugh Despenser, had enriched himself; and not to be outdone that town expelled its entire Jewish community. "No Jew," wrote he in his testament to his sons and descendants, "shall reside in Leicester to the end of the world." The Earls of Derby and Leicester committed the most dreadful ravages—no excess being too gross—in these towns and the King himself when ultimately granting a charter of liberty to the citizens of London intentionally excluded the Jews, whom he claimed as his hereditary chattels. He however gave them a moment for breathing, and allowed those, who had fled to save their lives from the many tumults against them, to return to their homes. With the exception of the plundering of the Lincoln synagogue under the leadership of Simon de Montfort's son and some large depredations at Cambridge, the English Jews for a few months lived unmolested, but their religious and personal liberties were not rendered more secure; the only advantages were that they were assured of safety of life and limb, they were not to be baptized by force, nor were their children to be kidnapped with that end in view; the burglarious entering into synagogues would not be tolerated, and singeing the beards of the Jews could not be condoned. Thus their foes were curbed for three years. At the expiration of this period further negotiations (these enumerated had, of course, been purchased) might be entered into. This was distressing to those orthodox Christians who gloried in evincing their insatiable rapacity and carnage of the bloodiest type. Yet the day for achieving glory by oppressing the Jews had not yet passed from the land and with this comforting reflection in mind they looked forward to the day when further lawlessness might be permissible. At the end of the stipulated time it was declared invalid for a Jew to hold freehold property. Their prayers in the synagogues supplicating for a revocation of this tyrannical edict are said to have been pitful to hear and to have moved even the mendicant friars—their bitterest

(1.) Strickland, "Lives of the Queens of England." Vol. I, p. 270.

traducers—to tears, but their entreaties against a law, which dispossessed them of almost all they possessed and impoverished them so greatly that they would become penniless, were useless. The officers of the Crown hastened to comply with their instructions and deprived them of their lands, and the lands they held in mortgage for money they had advanced to Christians were returned to their original owners, the Jews receiving the principal without interest, and this during the reign that had witnessed so much bloodshed to secure the recognition of the rights of man. The King needed money to wage war against his fierce barons. The Jews had to provide it. The barons needed money to wage war against the King. The Jews again had to provide it. Consequently each party punished them for supplying the other with funds. After each battle general attacks upon the Jewries were ordered. The King's retainers attacked those living in baronial towns, the baronial partizans attacking those living in the royal cities and boroughs. Henry however can hardly be called worse than the remaining Angevin Kings, for their external polity was often regulated by the state of the finances of their Jewish subjects.

Simon de Montfort on one occasion having suffered a reverse "forced his way into Winchester,[1] gave it up to plunder, slaying all the Jews he could find for they were always" he said "the King's good friends and hateful to the barons."[2]

The Jews it would appear were the sole panacea for the financial ills of the Plantagenet monarchs.

The close of Henry's turbulent reign was marked by the heaviest oppression of, and exaction from, his Jewish subjects. Payments of the most stupendous sums have again to be recorded. Many authentic and contemporaneous historians marvel at their ability to exist amid so many trials. Tovey in his Anglo Judaica tells us that they suffered more in England than their ancestors in Egypt. Their inveterate traducers, the Caorsini, usurious men sheltered by the Papal wings, who deemed it proper to malign and oppress, even pitied them. But the iron hand was not relaxed, and their poignant grief, their groans under endless burdens, and the insufferable humiliations and indignities

(1) History of Winchester (H.T.S) Dr G. W. Kitchen, F.S.A., p. 131.

(2.) The Winchester Jews favoured by William the Conqueror were an important body unmolested even in the dark days of King John; in the very heart of the city stood the Synagogus Judæorum and the district around it was the Jewry. The citizens bore them no ill-will for on Richard's accession in 1189, when the general outburst against them took place and everywhere, as a chronicler puts it, Englishmen thought well to immolate the Jews to their father "The Devil," Winchester alone sheltered them. She spared her vermin. —"History of Winchester," pages 78 and 107.

heaped upon them transcend human ken; for in addition to the constant demands, in obedience to which they were often peremptorily commanded to give up one fourth, even one third, of their total possessions to the Crown, they were heavily taxed individually, and as local bodies. The Jews have had vast sums extorted from them in every country of Christendom, but for a perpetuity of exaction, England has a paramount claim to be considered foremost.

Jewish History during the reign of the priest-ridden Henry shows a most heartrending continuity of crushing legislation, unjust canons, and savage massacres. In his earlier years He was amenable to the dictates of humanity, in contradistinction to those of the Church, but when he wanted money he, like his predecessors, sucked the very marrow of the Jews. He oppressed them mainly for want of money, but his subjects from rancorous hatred and the lurking suspicion that their wealth had not been altogether drained from them. Those two old allies, bigotry and cupidity, have ever been the duumvirate that has harassed the Israelite in every inhabited part of the globe. The armour of the imbellic Israelite was prayer and oft have the clergy without evincing the slightest evidence of sympathy declared that the wild threnetic supplications of the Jews in their synagogues disturbed them (the Christians) in their devotions. One prelate alone, Grostete, placed a limit to this zealous persecution. When a number of Oxford Jews were arrested on the preposterous charge of burglary—preposterous because all were wealthy men—and without the barest shred of incriminatory evidence imprisoned, his influence effected their liberation, and though he called them despicable pariahs and denounced them in the most vituperative language, he would not pander to the morbid cravings of the mob and instigate a wholesale massacre of the Jews at Oxford. Yet although he did not resort to extremes by the exercise of which his clerical brethren attained such repute and popularity, he did not fail to accuse them in vehement language of the trite charge of usury. As for the Caorsini, well! they were only the ramifications of speculative infallibility, who assisted starving papists at most colossal rates of interest. Still this man (Grostete) would not countenance any ebullition of the dormant hatred against the Jews, in towns over which he had authority.

Upon the accession of King Edward I. (1272) the Jews soon discerned that no alterations would be made in their treatment, notwithstanding that he made the customary verbose—but no longer plausible—speech in which he promised them his protection against attack, for the fury of the people had in no wise waned. He proceeded to an early consummation of his promises by imposing a tallage upon

every Jew in the kingdom ; man, woman and child had to pay a large tax. The execution of this decree, one carried out with unprecedented vigour, was intrusted into the hands of a typical Middle Age bishop and two cruel and bigoted friars. Such violence did those inexorable men employ that the King himself was compelled to intervene and lessen their fury by deprecating the use of unmitigated severity. Edward was ultimately induced to slightly modify his first proclamation.

In 1275 he published his iniquitous "Statutum de Judaismo," which, under a canting cloak of hypocrisy professing a desire to wean them from money lending, aimed at their complete degradation. It enforced the law compelling all Jews to wear the hated yellow badge.[1] Although this method of distinguishing Christians from Jews had not become obsolete nor had the clergy been remiss in enforcing its observance, it was necessary to ratify it from time to time. Many intolerant laws figured under this heading. Every effort of a Jew to gain a livelihood was circumvented by some provision of this truculent code, and in addition to their already multitudinous burdens, an extra tax was to be levied in celebration of Holy Week. Jews might not sell houses, lands, or any freehold property without the King's consent which had generally to be purchased. They were only to reside in such towns as were under his immediate jurisdiction, their emigration was to be prevented, in fact no effort that would conduce to assure them of the inutility of adhering to a creed so unpopular was neglected. The Dominicans redoubled their efforts to effect the conversion of a sensible fraction of their hated prey ; but it was to no purpose, the inherent steadfastness of the Jews was unmistakably evinced ; the mutual sorrows of that unfortunate people welded them still more closely into one cohering body and their immanent fidelity to the historic and ancient race for which they suffered so acutely has triumphed over the savage onslaughts of Dominican fury. But the chronicle of bloody massacres is not yet completed. The charge of coin-clipping was hurled against them with appalling results and when Jews were concerned accusation meant condemnation. They are indeed synonymous terms, for the student of Jewish history will discover very few acquittals recorded in favour of members of that nation, although he will find the indictments made against them to be as numerous as they are frivolous. On this charge all the Jews in England, young and old, rich and poor, were summarily

(1.) The Statutes of Edward I. "de la Jeuerie" required both male and female Jews over the age of seven years to wear a yellow badge in the shape of the two tablets of the Law.—Rev. L. Cutts, B.A., History of Colchester in his general survey of the position of the English Jews on page 123.

arrested and after a not over scrupulous trial, 293 of the wretched people were executed. The Jew-hating provinces gave vent to their indignation at the crimes of these victims by murdering multitudes of their kinsmen throughout the kingdom. They doubtless believed in their guilt, the Jews were shut out from every honourable means of existence by law, and punished for—in their despair—adopting less honourable methods of procuring a living. Edward presented their belongings to his courtiers with most astounding and prodigal liberality, but the people thirsted for more Jewish blood ; they were not yet satisfied. The most harrowing atrocities have to be recorded of this period ; every weird story, every phantasy that found birth in the morbid imagination of any bigoted Christian found ready credence. The miserable Jews were, without the slightest compunction, tortured and murdered wherever they were met. Much as Edward had found himself compelled to yield to the popular outcry against them, he was constrained to interpose the authority of the State between the fanaticism of the mob and the bodies of his Jewish subjects. Owing to the innumerable charges adduced against them in vindication of their ill usage a commission consisting of a number of influential and unbiassed persons had been appointed, and these were delegated to investigate the assertions of their accusers ; they in their report clearly established that all kinds of groundless charges were constantly being made against the Jews, that punitive expeditions, bent on the pillage of the Jewries, were quickly organised and that the wealthier members of that body were terrorized into paying large sums of money under threats of being accused of crimes, which the tentative blackmailers did not trouble to specify. Monstrous ! so valueless was their protest or declaration of innocence, so completely and helplessly were they in the hands of their enemies, that they had to purchase silence for the perpetration of crimes the precise nature of which they were ignorant of. It is of the charge ever laid against the Jews of the Middle Ages, that we purpose devoting an entire page to an excerpt from the works of a grave and authoritative ecclesiastical historian, Dr. Augustus Neander. Having seceded from Judaism, it is patent that he would not flatter the adherents of that faith ; therefore his remarks are perfectly reliable on this ground alone, apart from his high prestige as a scholar and a cautious writer. He says,[1] " Rumours became current against the Jews of the same description as have prevailed at all times against religious sects, persecuted by popular hatred, as for example, against the first Christians, who were charged with such crimes as flattered the credulous fanaticism of the populace. It was said that they stole

(1.) " General History of the Christian Church and Religion." Vol. VII. p. 98.

Christian children for the Passover festival and after having crucified them with all imaginable tortures used their entrails for magical purposes. If a boy (especially near the feast of the Passover) was missed by his friends, or if the corpse of a boy concerning whose death nothing certain was known happened to be found, suspicion lighted at once upon the Jews of the district, where the accident had occurred. Men could easily discover what they were intent on finding, marks of the tortures which had been inflicted on the sufferers. It might doubtless happen too that enemies of the Jews or those that gloated on their wealth would disfigure the discovered bodies in order to lend the more plausibility to the accusations brought against the Jews. Hence a boy so found might sometimes be honoured by the people as a martyr and become the hero of a wonderful story. The most extravagant of such tales might find credence in the existing tone of public sentiment and seem to be confirmed by an investigation begun with prejudice and conducted in a tumultuary manner. If at the commencement of such movements wealthy Jews betook themselves to flight, when they foresaw, as they must have forseen, the disastrous issue to themselves, this passed for evidence of their guilt, and of the truth of the rumours. If twenty-five affirmed on their oath that the arrested Jews were guilty of the abominable crime this sufficed to set the matter beyond all doubt and to authorise the sentence of death. Whoever interceded on behalf of the unfortunate victim exposed himself by so doing to the popular hatred, which looked upon all such pity as suspicious. In the year 1256 several pious Franciscans in England, not to be deterred by the force of prevailing delusions, ventured to take the part of certain Jews (accused of some abominable crime,) who were languishing in prison and they succeeded in procuring a release and saving their lives, but now these monks who had acted in the spirit of Christian benevolence were accused of having allowed themselves to be bribed by money, thus, they lost the good opinion of the lower class of the people, who ever after refused to give them alms."

The theology of the Crusaders held good, the Jews were the murderers of the Saviour, therefore they must receive Him or die. Every Jew is the personal enemy of Jesus, "Kill them!" "Destroy the enemies of Christ!" were the cries that rang through Europe; but the report of the commission to whom Edward had relegated the duty of examining the dealings of the Jews was not without effect, for it temporarily neutralized these cries in England. He issued several laws that tended—in a small measure—to ameliorate their lamentable status. They were at least not to be threatened with false accusations and were thus spared the otherwise paramount necessity of buying silence.

All charges that had once been dispensed with could not be reopened or used as a plea for high-handed outrages. The offence of no single individual could be laid against the Jews of all England as heretofore. But these concessions were no favours, they were what might have been expected from less lauded monarchs, and do not palliate the conduct of their inveterate oppressor. Edward, says his biographer, hated the Jews both on religious and economic grounds.[1] The few concessions he made them were as evanescent as the former laws that sought to protect them had been.

On the 17th November, 1278, all the Jews in England, men, women, and children, were by the order of Edward suddenly and without any warning, seized and hurried to different prisons. They were then compelled to ransom themselves with huge sums. Five months later (April 1, 1279), the Jews of Northampton were, on the fictive charge of crucifying a Christian child, arrested, and a number of them were torn asunder, their limbs being fastened to wild horses which were suddenly driven in opposite directions, thus rending them piecemeal limb from limb. The Waverley Chronicles relate this ignoble act with undisguised glee.

In 1286 Pope Honorius IV. severely admonished the Archbishop of Canterbury for permitting the English Jews to exercise too much freedom, this he loudly stigmatized as a culpable dereliction of the duties imposed upon all Churchmen by the provisions of the Fourth Lateran Council. This Papal reproof was hardly necessary, for the Archbishop was a most vigorous hunter of the Jews. He issued a pastoral letter to the Bishop of London directing him to prevent the Jews of that city from building any more synagogues. The palatial magnificence of those already erected had long been a source of the bitterest grief to these intolerant Churchmen. He obeyed his instructions with the greatest avidity and even desired to raze the existing houses of prayer. The principal synagogue had stood in Lothbury at the corner of Old Jewry, but it was destroyed in one of the periodical riots in 1262, when it is stated that 700 Jews were killed.[2] The prime source of this new oppression, the Pontifical Bull, did not confine its virulent abuse to the subject of usury, it contained a most bitter diatribe against the Talmud. The Pope wrote a learned tirade bristling with Scriptural quotations, in which he unequivocally denounced a book he had never read. He also heaped opprobrium upon the Dominican monks, and compared the proselytising success of the Christians to that of the Jews. Although the Jews sought no

(1.) "Life of Edward I." by Professor E. Toutt, pp. 160, 161.
(2.) "London," by J. W. Loftie, B.A., F.S.A., p. 100.

converts, the voluntary adherents to that faith, who had left Christianity, amounted to a very substantial number, in fact an entire community, consisting solely of Jewish neophytes, is said to have existed, but they were eventually massacred, a fate which they fully realized they could not elude. Despite the many disadvantages the number of converts to Judaism had so increased, that a Papal rebuke had to be administered to the already rabid Dominicans.

A Franciscan Professor of great repute, Duns Scotus, of Oxford, openly urged the King to tear away the children of Jews from their parents so that they might not perpetuate disbelief in Christianity, but this cruel course was reserved for a later century and another soil.

Edward had been persuaded to concede a permission for the expulsion of the Jews resident in his French territories.[1] This act portended badly for the Jews in England. They knew the banishment of their Gascon brethren boded ill ; and indeed it was the precursor of their expulsion from England, for since Robert de Reddinge, a Dominican monk, had embraced Judaism, the members of that order had used the incredible bigotry of the Queen Mother Eleanor as a lever for the persecution of the Jews in her son's domains. They had fanned her orthodoxy into uncontrollable and fierce hatred of that people. She, obedient to her confessor's behest, strained every nerve to render their tribulation irremediable. She succeeded beyond her most sanguine expectations, for she played so skilfully upon her son's quiescent hatred and rampant envy of his Hebrew subjects, that to her cunning machinations, we might almost assign their final expulsion in 1290. She personally fostered the hostility of the Christians against their Jewish fellowmen and arbitrarily expelled them from the city of Cambridge, a town that was her appanage, although its trade for over two centuries had received an undeniable impulse from Jewish commerce. This tyrannical measure was immediately executed, the Jews being ruthlessly ejected from their homes.

On the 16th April, 1287, a Council held at Exeter heard the many complaints of the clergy against the Jews. The claims of the priesthood in regard to the latter were fully discussed. As the result of its prejudiced and predetermined debates, it placed the unhappy Hebrews under additional restrictions to those which already oppressed them so heavily.

(1.) "He took this step in consequence of a miraculous escape which he had from being struck dead by a flash of lightning which passed directly over his bed and killed two of his chamberlains who were standing close by : as a sign of his gratitude for this deliverance he is said to have banished the Jews." Rev. H. C. Adams, M.A., "History of the Jews," p. 166.

Three weeks later, May 2nd., every Jew in the kingdom was arrested by Royal warrant, and in further pursuance of Edward's definite orders imprisoned. No motive whatever was assigned for this despotic move, Edward not even attempting to offer any plea or pretext in extenuation of his conduct. This was a repetition of a similar deed of violence consummated some few years before, when the Jews were placed under arrest and forced to purchase their freedom. As on that occasion the Jews had to ransom themselves from their unjust detention, they had again on this. This sudden arrest, imprisonment and ransoming of the Jews was a mode of revenue first inaugurated by John, who was in this respect at least emulated by Henry III. Edward's motives are apparent, he wanted money. To wring it from his subjects, he feared the barons ; to exact it from the monasteries and the priesthood, he dreaded the Pope. The Jews had no mortal being on earth to intervene for them, so he might with safety plunder them and yet not lose the reputation he had won in the Crusades as a valorous Knight.

In the earlier part of 1290, public clamour became so uproarious and irrepressible that Edward had no option but to issue a decree ordering the final and irrevocable banishment of every Jew in the realm. The clergy gratefully presented him with one tenth of their possessions, he was furthermore to receive one fifteenth of the goods of the laity. The Jews were ordered to restore the pledges of their Christian debtors and quit the country before November 1st, of that year. The fiat had gone forth. Before the feast of All Saints' Day the Jews were to leave the country. The King and Queen's hearts had been steeled against all appeals for a revocation of the fatal edict. Even the young Queen who had not been so deeply prejudiced against them as had her husband and his mother, was intimidated by the fremescent voice of popular fury. The entire property of the expelled was seized and confiscated to the State, A very small amount however, sufficient to provide for their necessities, was remitted to them.

Edward, doubtless anticipating the sinister designs of those who were to convey the Jews out of the kingdom, ordered that the involuntary emigrants should be transported out of his territories without molestation, but in the words of Dean Milman,[1] "A prince who countenanced the worst passions of human nature by his actions, could not very well counteract them by his proclamations."

In every port where the Jews boarded the vessels which were to convey them from the land in which they and their forefathers had been so eruelly oppressed, the land which they had entered with hearts radiant with hopes of a tranquil existence, but where they had been

(1.) "History of the Jews." Vol. III., p. 262.

so heartlessly degraded, every species of barbarities were perpetrated upon them. Every artifice however reprehensible, every threat however cowardly, was utilized as the means of terrorizing the last farthing left them by Edward's whimsical mercy, out of the wretched victims of public hatred.

The respite expired upon the first of November, but by the ninth of October over sixteen thousand Jews (16,511) had left the country so anxious were they to leave the soil from which they had been so mercilessly hounded. They embarked amid universal torrents of abuse but the rough jeers and coarse epithets of the Christian mob now no longer troubled them. They had, by their own and their ancestors' bitter experiences, become inured to contumely. A gibe or a taunt was very little indeed to a people that had witnessed nearly three hundred of their co-religionists hanged like brigands upon the public gallows, for having in their possession—this was but a rumour—counterfeit money, although the Christians absolutely forced spurious coin upon them, in their dealings, hoping thereby to accelerate their doom. To those who had seen the vilest ruffians or the smallest children pelting stones and dirt at bent and crippled old men, the splenetic ejaculations of those who crowded the quays affected them but slightly. Yet they were not to escape so easily. A captain of a vessel upon which a number of Jews embarked, called at Queensborough. He landed there ostensibly for a few hours, and was followed by his passengers who little dreamed what was before them. As soon as the tide began to rise the captain and his crew re-embarked, leaving the Jews behind on a sandbank which they had, by some wily process, been tempted to mount. They now perceived the monstrous project of those who had assured them of a safe passage out of the country. With tears in their eyes and with horror-palsied voices, they implored the re-incarnation of Domitian, who commanded the ship, to have mercy on them, their wives and their children. He replied with derisive taunts and ribald jests finally recommending them to invoke Moses, who had led their ancestors through the Red Sea to save them. "Let them cry unto Moses who led them safely through the Red Sea," said the apache giving the order for the ship to sail. The unhappy people were unheeded and the loud entreaties were soon without the pale of human aid and the lashing victorious waves shortly engulfing them, terminated their lives of anguish and pain. The captain recounted his ghastly exploit so frequently, faithfully mimicing the Hebrew prayers and supplicatory attitudes of his victims, and boasted so often of the number of Jews he had murdered that he was ultimately executed. But is this a solitary instance of inhumanity? The seamen of the Cinque ports plundered them of what little had been left them and after

gagging the poor Jews flung them bound into the sea. How many of these persecuted people were burnt, drowned, turned adrift, and tortured during the few days of their departure? How many crimes against the Jews were hushed up? How many cases of assassination never came to light? How many murderers went unpnnished? No historian can tell! But if the furious people had felt any qualms of conscience for their inconceivably despicable conduct towards an alien, unprotected, homeless race of wanderers, these were stilled by contemplation of the prospective spoil. They indeed received much of their goods. The magnificent Jewish Libraries at Stamford and other cities (sources from which many great Christian Scholars had not been too proud to drink freely) were seized by them. Their debts to the Jews had been declared cancelled. As for the King he was indeed overjoyed, their wealth accumulated by years of industry and exercise of talent was escheated to him, and he had almost reached apotheosis in the eyes of the clergy.[1] The middle and lower classes soon discovered that they had to bear the public burdens unassisted by the money they might always extort from their Jewish neighbours. The taxes levied upon them gave them some inkling as to what the Jews, whom they had so execrated, had endured.

Any Jew found on English soil after the 1st November, 1290, was, according to a State Proclamation, to be hanged.[2]

After their expulsion the principal synagogue was seized by the Fratresse de Sacre (an order of monks so named).[3] Fifteen years after their departure, Robert Fitz Walter, a knight, whose house it adjoined, made an application that it might be given to him, and his request, being accompanied with a douceur, was conceded him. Two hundred years later it was transformed into a tavern.

The Jews, who during the next few centuries resided on English soil did so at the risk of their lives; but a handful appeared to have braved the perils of discovery and taken up their residence in the land from which they had been thrust. Queen Elizabeth, it would appear,

(1.) Edward's great financial measure. the remorseless plunder and cruel expatriation of the Jews was beheld by the clergy as a noble act of Christian vigour. Among the plunder no inconsiderable portion had been Church property, pawned or sold by necessitous or irreligious ecclesiastics. The king had inflicted at once a heavy blow on the trade of the country and deprived himself of a wealthy class, whom he might have plundered in a more slow and productive manner without remorse, resistance or remonstrance. Dean Milman, "History of Latin Christianity," Vol. VII. p. 53.

(2.) Prior to their departure the king made them the most specious promises of wealth and honour if they would embrace Christianity and remain in the country, but "Edward promised, the friars preached in vain, nothing could wean the Jews from their attachment to the Law of Moses." "Strickland."

(3.) In 1291 the king granted the Cemetery of the Jews near York, known by the name of Jewbury, to Robert de Newland and Alice his wife. "Raine."

seems to have defied the decrees of the Council of Basle by retaining a Jewish physician ; but Roderigo Lopez had to answer for that historic and inexpiable crime, which was used to palliate every attack upon his kinsmen, by being beheaded. He was accused of desiring to poison the Queen and placed on his trial. The same gross and palpable parody on justice so often enacted gave some sort of justification for the execution of an eminent physician against whom absolutely nothing had been proved. In 1655 the representations of the patriotic Jew, Manasseh ben Israel, led to the summoning of a Council at Whitehall at which Oliver Cromwell presided. The seven conditions of resettlement submitted by Manasseh were approved by all except the clergy and a few lawyers.[1] Cromwell cajoled the former into giving their consent, assuring them that he would try to effect their conversion.

In 1660 during the reign of Charles II, a goldsmith named Thomas Violet presented a numerously signed petition to the House of Common asking that the Jews might be expelled from England and their property confiscated. Violet no doubt followed the 1290 programme. During this reign they were so continually molested by the populace, especially in London, that they were compelled to remind the King in a public petition, of the promises made them by Cromwell. Charles —that much maligned monarch—officially declared in public council that the Jews were not to be attacked or their houses pillaged, and assured them that so long as they continued to conduct themselves as they were doing they should receive every protection against outrage. Twelve years later (1673) an indictment was formulated charging the Jews with meeting for worship in other than a Christian place of prayer. So seriously did those indicted view the position, that they anxiously presented a formal note to Charles insisting either on the liberties granted them in 1655 being ratified (reminding him of his promise to safeguard their religious and civil liberties as law abiding citizens of their respective towns) or that he would at once appoint favourable conditions for them to withdraw from the country ; so resolute were they not to budge an inch from the teachings of their religion. Their monarch was so incensed at the constant oppression to which they were subjected that he took a very definite standpoint on the question, so definite, that during the remainder of his reign they were no longer molested.

In 1685, a long smouldering spark of bigotry burst forth anew and thirty seven Jewish merchants were seized on the Stock Exchange during the transaction of their business. They were informed that

(1.) "Hallam's Constitutional History of England," Vol. II. p. 316.

they must consider themselves under arrest, for having failed to attend any Church during the preceding twelve months.[1] The King being petitioned summoned a council which, being wise enough to perceive James' attitude, decided to reprimand all who oppressed the Jews or tampered with them in the exercise of their religion and faith. "They had behaved themselves as loyal and obedient subjects of the Crown and these constant aggressions were most unwarrantable," said James.

During the reign of his successor William III, five years after the incident related, the Council of Jamaica, then (as now) a British colony, forwarded a heavily subscribed petition, loudly urging upon him the necessity and benefit to himself of empowering them to expel the Jews from that island. William firmly declined to grant their request and asked them to assign some reasons other than malice and rivalry for their earnest entreaties. It is noteworthy that these were not forthcoming.

Nothing notable seems to have occurred in the reign of Queen Anne ; their progress was neither retarded nor advanced. But during the reign of George I we find their recognition as a corporate body in legislation, where they were described as British subjects, truly an appellation more worthy of manhood and toleration than that given them by the Angevin monarchs who termed them the "King's Bondsmen and Chattels".

In 1740, during the reign of George II, an Act of Parliament recognized all born on British soil from Jewish parents as British subjects, thus abrogating the otherwise unavoidable necessity of a Jew residing in the colonies, desirous of becoming a British subject, receiving the Sacrament.

With their expulsion in 1290 ends the record of their public and legalized persecution, but, as we have just seen, they laboured under many serious disadvantages till long after their re-admission. It was a decided revulsion in their favour that tended to procure this, but till quite recently the inimical spirit against the Jews rankled in the Christian breast. The struggles of the Jews for relief from the many disabilities under which they were placed are exhaustively dealt with by that patriotic Jew, James Picciotto, as well as by other Anglo-Jewish writers. It would be a work of supererogation to treat of them apart from any minute account and that is out of our present province.

(1.) By a statute of Queen Elizabeth non-attendance at any church for over twelve months was rendered punishable at law, and as by some technical oversight the stipulated freedom of the Jews from religious laws had not been mentioned, the circumstance of its existence was ignored.

A Naturalization Bill was passed in 1753, but so violent was the outcry throughout the country that it had to be repealed in the following year. During the Mendelssohnian epoch all Jews had to pay an alien duty however long they had resided in this country, and even when born on British soil they were thus categorized, being regarded as Germans, Russians, or members of the different nations from which their ancestors had originally emigrated. The Naturalization Bill, although granting the rights of English protection to those Jews resident in England not less than three years, precluded them from occupying any Government office or public post. They were not allowed to enjoy the exercise of the franchise, though of course, they were compelled to pay taxes. George II, confirmed the wise conclusion of the two estates, but no sooner had his act become known, than such a ferment arose and such volubly expressed indignation was evoked, that to prevent riots throughout the kingdom, Parliament had to pass a brief act repealing the one so distasteful to the constituents of its formulators. Whether commercial rivalry or bigotry alone prompted the nation to clamour for its revocation is difficult to say.

The history of the English Jews during the earlier portion of this century is well known and does not need lengthy recapitulation here. Ten times did a Liberal House of Commons introduce and carry a bill which would have secured our co-religionists every municipal and Parliamentary right ; ten times did the Conservative House of Lords reject it. Many rights had indeed been accorded them but public outcry invariably rendered their instant abrogation imperative. In 1858 one of the last vestiges of oppression was swept away when Baron Ferdinand de Rothschild took his seat as a member of the House of Commons. Jewish worship was placed on the same footing as that of other Non-conformists in 1855, but certain laws concerning the observance of Sunday, annoyed them till 1871, when they were declared to be directed to Christians only. Thus every right has gradually been conceded to the Jew ; but there unfortunately lurks (though mainly in the lower and more ignorant orders) the idea that he is the target for malevolence and spleen. Many of our most gifted writers have thrown a sop to the plebian craving for satirizing Jewish ideals and customs. Still the anti-Jewish ideas of the Middle Ages are rapidly fading before the glorious light of tolerance, and the sun of reason as it advances dispersing its blessed rays all over the Universe obliterates in a great measure the hereditary prejudices of the masses. The wave of the Brotherhood of Man and the Fatherhood of God has done much in improving the condition of our brethren throughout the world. Notwithstanding that, their status leaves much to be desired. The

few street corner orators, or the market place rhetoricians, who know no better way of revenging themselves on their Jewish acquaintances for their talents than by bespattering them with abuse, no longer voice the trend of public opinion. The Music Hall artiste, who could at one time evoke the most boisterous hilarity and the most irrepressible mirth with his Jewish glazier song, finds that he is echoing effete sentiments. Our Christian co-religionists are rather commencing to recognize those inimitable Hebrew characters, who scintillate with rutiliant beauty on the pages of history, as truer types of the Jewish nation, than the poor despised struggling glazier who is what the Christian has made him, and who despite the aversion of his neighbours is withal a fitting type for many a wealthier man to emulate.

In this blessed country, one of the first to accord us every right and liberty, we are indeed happy ; here the Jew is assured of safety ; he can in this enlightened land exercise his ancestral faith without dread of punishment. He can partake in the social, political and literary progress of his Fatherland without prejudice being directed against him. He has indeed much to be thankful for. This noble land has not been remiss in affording succour to many distressed Jewish communities in the East. Nor has England had cause to rue her enlightened policy. Has not every English Jew been grateful for the incalculable benefits showered upon him with such a lavish hand ? Does he not evince his gratitude in every sphere of life ? Is the English Israelite less loyal or less devoted to the British Crown and Empire than are her very own sons ? Does he not share, does he not actively teach England's ideals of freedom and her ambitions of ameliorating the sufferings of the weak and the oppressed ? Does he not evince his tangible sympathy with every movement that has for its object the benefit of humanity ? Has he forgotten his training of nineteen bitter centuries when appealed to for aid ? And is he not even foremost in every deed, in every movement that redounds to the credit of Her Gracious Majesty's illustrious Empire ? The munificent charities of the late Baron Maurice de Hirsch, of our Rothschilds, Mocattas, Sassoons, Goldsmiths and other philanthropists, whose liberality is never restrained by considerations of race or creed and who give all uniform equality, go far towards corroborating my assertions, and now that the Jew is in England at least admitted into every walk of life, and every shade and grade of society, reflection on the sufferings of his nation's martyrs, who gladly mounted the stake and the scaffold, so that they might hand down to him their religion, sealed with their lives' blood, can only tend to cement the amicable sentiments between those brothers in humanity—The Englishman and the Jew.

CHAPTER II.

JEWISH SUFFERINGS IN FRANCE.

"The history of the Jews in the Middle Ages contains perhaps the heaviest catalogue of crimes that can be laid at the door of men calling themselves Christians."

Coutter Morrison, "Life of St. Bernard," page 157.

THE earliest French records extant clearly prove the settlement of Jews in this country, as early as the days of the Cæsars. Many Jewish merchants had immigrated into Gaul, even before the downfall of the Jewish State. Whether driven thither by the tyrannical Roman rule, or whether voluntary enterprise had caused them to form themselves into communities and take up permanent residence in France is a question that has never been solved. They dwelt in the district of Arles, but later on spread to the vicinity of Auvergne, Orleans and Paris. They do not appear to have been regarded as a separate caste, and no legislation having direct bearing upon them as exponents of a creed existed. The manly Frankish and Burgundian warriors regarded them as human beings possessed of natural rights, and permitted them to live and think as they pleased. Until Gaul was Christianized, the Jews enjoyed every possible right and liberty, but when Christianity was planted upon its shores their visions of rest were cruelly shattered. The story of the French Jew was to become a most important chapter, in the record of Jewish sufferings; he was to produce his quota to the long list of Hebrew martyrs, he was to be legislated for with all the ferocity of Christian hatred. A great historian has said "The inception of the persecution of the Jews in France is coeval with the establishment of Christianity in that country." It is certain that prior to that event they lived in complete amity with the inhabitants. They practised medicine, cultivated science, navigated the rivers in their own vessels, were employed in agriculture, and pursued commerce without stipulation or hindrance. In Marseilles, Beziers, and Narbonne, they had by their qualities

and their industry rendered themselves indispensable to the citizens. The archives of many other cities and towns give us instances of Jews holding the most honourable and responsible offices.

The baptism of Sigismund, who embraced Catholicism, is considered by many writers to be the initiation of Jewish sufferings on French soil. Many Monarchs, Councils and Rescripts had oppressed them, but it is outside the purview of this short volume to treat of events occurring above twelve centuries ago, though it is sometimes necessary to do so, as for instance when a precedent has to be found for any act of oppression.[1] Let us therefore, as resolved, begin to chronicle the oppression of the Jews in France from 615 A.D., and so bring ourselves within the period originally marked out.

The Council of Paris (615) excluded the Jews from all military and civil rank, and debarred them from occupying any posts that gave them power over Christians. This decree was officially ratified by Clotaire II, who, like Constantine the Great, was a matricide and an assassin, but a zealous Catholic. The "Council of Rheims" rendered all further purchase of slaves by Jews impossible, though it did not seek to impede the Christian trade in that traffic ; that of "Chalons" further restricted their now encumbered commercial freedom. In 629 Dagobert issued an edict commanding the wholesale baptism of all unbelievers in his domains, under threat of instant banishment. A great number of Jews thereupon sold their effects and left the kingdom ; but heretic-hunting had not made sufficient progress in public esteem at that early date, therefore many of them were but slightly affected. As the Merovingian rule gradually became a mere sinecure and the power in the hands of the "Mayors of the Palace" increased, so did they enjoy greater freedom, and so were the Canons hampering their liberties unheeded, if not at times altogether discarded. Charlemagne was most tolerant towards the Jews; he, like his predecessors, perceived their value and his son Louis de Debonnaire was not loth to follow in the path his liberal-minded father had pointed out to him. The Jews were indeed delighted, they made untiring efforts to maintain this desirable state of affairs, they rendered their brilliant literature accessible to the higher orders of the clergy and the nobility. Many of the former admitted the great advantages to be derived from the study of Rabbinical literature. The great abbot Rhabanus Maurus of Fulda eulogized their homiletical works and constantly adverted to the vast profundity of Jewish exegetics. The reign of the Emperor Louis

---

(1.) In the chapter on Canons and Councils, I take a fleeting review of some of these early persecutions. "G. P."

le Debonnaire was a golden era for the Jews of his kingdom, the like of which they never enjoyed in Europe whether earlier or later.[1] But the spectre of bigotry at last began to raise her ghastly head. Agobard, Bishop of Lyons (afterwards St. Agobard), made frantic struggles to re-enforce the canonical laws against them. He made such desperate and furious efforts to create dissension among the supporters of the Jews and delivered such fiery and vituperative sermons against that people, that it was found necessary to officially proclaim the king's protection of the Jews and to depose the frenzied prelate, who, after creating schism in the Royal family by instigating the Princes to rebel against their father and nearly involving the country in a civil war, had to content himself by publishing oracular anti-Jewish pamphlets and haranguing the lower orders. Prior to his deposition he had forbidden Christians in his diocese to labour for Jews, eat with them or buy flesh or wine from them. Now he could only persuade them by his writings and speeches. On one occasion he delivered himself of the following impassioned exordium upon the Jews:—"Separate, even hide yourselves, oh brethren, from those who are clothed with curses as a garment ; curses that penetrate into their bones, their marrows, and their very entrails, as water and oil flow through the human body. They are accursed in the city, and the country ; at the beginning and end of their lives ; their flocks, their meats, their granaries, their cellars, and their magazines are accursed !"

In 829 a synod of Bishops assembled to discuss what means might be adopted to mortify their hated enemies, but they were unable to effect the humiliation of those they so bitterly detested and finally, realizing their absolute impotency, resolved to wait for more favourable circumstances. Charles the Bald continued his father's clement attitude towards the Jews, despite the machinations of Amolo, Bishop of Lyons, who sought to effect their oppression as unsuccessfully as his predecessor had done. He framed a series of indictments against them (a number of most grotesque and inept charges and suggestions, the principal characteristics of which were malice and incoherency). He laid the greatest stress upon the Church Canon which directed the Christians to steal Jewish children for the purpose of Baptism. The Council of Meaux (849) had solemnly bound itself to Amolo's agenda and was assured of the support of the Crown favourite Hincmar, who pledged himself by oath to further their plans by every means in his power. They presented as a result of their deliberations a petition to the king, urging the necessity of the Canonical regulations against the

(1.) Grætz.

Jews but they—together with the entire anti-Jewish faction—were disappointed : Charles indignantly rejecting the proposals of the raging clergy. Utterly disconcerted they had to confine themselves to the periodical publications of the most lying and calumnious pamphlets, accusing the Jews of every imaginable crime and with mantic assertions proving that if they enjoyed liberty the entire disintegration of society and collapse of Christianity must inevitably ensue. Amolo bitterly lamented that the Jews were allowed unrestrained freedom of speech. "They even employ Christian servants," said he, "and I frequently see their cows in the meadows". Remigius who followed Amolo in the episcopate of Lyons was more successful as a persecutor than either of his predecessors had been ; he prayed the king to incite the French Bishops to strenuous opposition to the Jews. His success was due to the real existence of the "Feudal System," for with its countless minor states, baronries, districts and vassalages, it exercised a most nocent influence upon those he so bitterly hated. In 897 "Charles the Simple," departing from the even-handed justice of his three predecessors, presented the entire property of the Jews of Narbonne to the Archbishop of that district. Yet Charles knew their value as indeed did many European Monarchs of that period, "the diligence and expertness of this people in all pecuniary dealings recommending them to Princes who were solicitous about the improvement of their revenue."[1]

At Beziers the struggles of the priesthood were so successful that its members themselves were satisfied. The Bishop of that city hated the Jews still more fiercely than the Archbishop of Sens who in 889 had expelled all the members of that race resident in his Archidiocese. On a certain Easter Monday the Bishop mounted the pulpit and thus addressed the assembled citizens of Beziers, "You have around you those who crucified the Messiah, who deny Mary, the Mother of God ! Now is the time when you should feel the iniquity of which Christ was the victim. This is the day on which our Prince has graciously given us permission to avenge this crime. Like your pious ancestors, hurl stones at the Jews and show your sense of His wrongs by the vigour with which you resent them." His auditors rendered furious by this harangue attacked the Jews with stones. They were compelled to barricade their quarter of the town. The rabble was so pleased to see the aflrighted people acting as if distraught, that it was resolved to repeat the attack every Easter and establish it as an institution. It thus became an annual diversion during Holy Week to rush into

(1.) Hallam's "State of Europe during the Middle Ages," Vol. III, p. 354.

the Jewish quarter, break every window with stones and cruelly maltreat or even wound each member of the hated race they chanced to meet. No Jew dared to appear in the street during Easter Week. Had he done so he would most certainly have been stoned to death. The disgraceful spectacle of an annual and organized attack upon the local Jewish quarter continued in uninterrupted operation until 1160, one generation handing down the record of this ancient custom to the other. Bishop Raymond of Trincavil undertook for a large sum of money to stop the stoning. It was fortunate that the Jews were then able to purchase peace.

At Toulouse the community had to submit to a most execrable custom ; they were publicly whipped three times a year at Easter, Whitsuntide and Christmas. This lambent custom was however reduced to the whipping of the Rabbi three times a year and finally varied to the thrashing of the President of the congregation once yearly. A chaplain named Hugh obtained permission, on one occasion to administer the castigation and struck the unfortunate man so violent a blow with his clenched fist, that he instantly succumbed to the injuries received. Finally a large tribute was accepted in lieu of the continuation of this unmanly persecution. The inhabitants of that town pleaded its supposititious betrayal to the Saracens, but Basnage, and almost every French historian supports his assertion, has proved this charge to be a great anachronism and the clumsiest one ever framed. Even had it been a historical fact, it would have been grossly unjust to punish one generation for a crime committed by their forefathers centuries before. How much was it so, when the very evidences they advanced were facts wrapt up in the impenetrable mists of a hoary antiquity ? Beziers had not even an admitted lie to assign in palliation of its cowardly treatment of the Jews. But the hatred of the clergy and the periodical violence of the mob[1] were but mere bagatelles when compared to later events. The Crusades which were to wreak such misery upon the Hebrew nation throughout Europe were dawning. The bitterest events in their tragical history were drawing nigh, they were to be massacred with more brutality than they had ever experienced in their already eventful history. The bloodiest century of their dispersion was fast approaching. "They were indeed entering the darkest period in their long dreary chronicles of trial and sorrow, for before the Crusades, though often treated with cruelty and always with contempt, the Jews of western Europe had frequently known long

(1.) As for instance in 1010, when Jews met their deaths at the hands of the rabble, owing to the lying statements of a monk, who accused them of betraying military secrets to a foreign monarch.

intervals of comparative peace and happiness. Simultaneously with the growth of the idea of fighting and slaughtering the infidels abroad, still greater hatred was developed against the Jews at home. They were miscreants as bad or worse than the Saracens, they were as rich, and far easier and nearer to kill, all excellent reasons for slaying them."[1]

The Jews little realised the calamitous issue the Crusaders would produce for them, yet the increasing rancour with which they were treated must have presaged the direst misfortune and served as an ominous note of warning.

"In the Crusades, intolerance and implacability went hand in hand, and the fancied authority of heaven for the infliction of punishment sharpened and embittered the military character which was already wild and furious. When the Crusader fixed the sign of the Cross on his coat of mail and spurred his war steed on the plains of Palestine, he sanctified bitterness and all the sympathy of Knighthood disappeared. It behoved the champion of the Cross to wade through seas of blood; the cries of women and the helplessness of children could not mollify the vigour of fanaticism, vindictive antipathy was the duty of Knighthood.[2] Thus the fanaticism raised by the Crusaders was often directed against the Jews as personal enemies of Christ,[3] for the knight was the servant of God bound with his good sword to protect his honour and to extirpate all the enemies of Christ and his Virgin Mother. These enemies were the unbelievers, more particularly the Jew, whose stiff-necked obstinacy still condemned him. Every Jew was as deadly a foe as if he had joined in the frantic cry of "Crucify Him," "Crucify Him."[4]

"The Jews have crucified our Saviour, they must return to Him or die" was the cry that resounded throughout Europe. The Crusaders assembled in France, and though its Jews there went through dreadful sufferings, the greatest sufferings were reserved for the pious German communities.

Let us hear something of the character and purposes of the Crusaders. "Religious fanaticism was the chief motive of the Crusades, but it was mixed with others. Chivalry had induced the love of fighting and adventure; and brave knights dreamed of carving out kingdoms from the empire of the infidel.

The East was thought to abound in riches, the wealth of Ormuz and India gleaned on the imagination, and sensuality was allured by

(1.) Prof. Henri Martin, Histoire de France," p.p. 374-375.
(2.) Donoghue, "The Church and Court of Rome," Vol. I, p. 139.
(3.) Neander, "Ecclesiastical History," Vol. VII, p. 98.
(4.) Milman, "History of the Jews," Vol. 111.

the fabulous flavour of Oriental wines, and the magical beauty of Greek women. Avarice, ambition, and lust co-operated with faith. The Crusaders were granted a plenary indulgence by the Pope and at the voice of their pastor, the Robber, the Incendiary, the Homicide arose by thousands to redeem their souls by repeating on the infidel the same deeds they had exercised against their Christian brethren."[1] A historian of the Crusades says, "The Crusaders abandoned themselves to every species of libertinism. Virgin modesty was no protection and conjugal virtue no safeguard.

Palaces and Churches were plundered to afford them means of intoxication and excess, they committed crimes which made nature shudder and were distinguished for their ferocity. They killed children at the breast and scattered their limbs in the air."[2] "No barbarian, no infidel, no Saracen ever perpetrated such wanton and cold blooded atrocities of cruelty as the wearers of the Cross of Christ. Murder was mercy, rape tenderness, simple plunder the mere assertion of a conqueror's right. Children were seized by their legs, some of them plucked from their mother's breasts and dashed against walls or whirled from battlements. Others were obliged to leap from walls, some tortured and roasted by slow fires."[3] The remarks of the preceding grave authorities need no comment. In Rouen (then an English possession), all the Jews—men, women, and children—were driven into a church and at the point of the sword offered the choice of baptism or death. During the second Crusade they did not escape so easily. The Jews of France had also to experience the dark barbarities perpetrated upon their German brethren, "a ferocious persecution of that body had burst forth and the blood and tortures of multitudes offered a tardy expiation for the crime, that their ancestors had committed in Jerusalem more than a thousand years previously."[4] Eugenius III absolved all intending Crusaders from paying their debts to the Jews. Bernard, (afterwards St. Bernard), Abbot of Clairvaux, also advised them to evade payment of their Hebrew creditors.

Another great prelate, Peter the Venerable of Clugny, made a most violent attempt to fan the fanaticism of the Crusaders, which he feared might become dormant, into the repetition of excesses against that unfortunate race.[5] He dilated upon their natural perversity, their

(1.) Gibbon's "Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire, Vol. VIII, p. 104.
(2.) Mills' "History of the Crusades"
(3.) Milman's "History of Latin Christianity," Vol. IV. p. 188.
(4.) Draper's "The Intellectual Development of Europe," Vol. II. p. 22.
(5.) Among the most melancholy reflections it is not the least sad that the gentle Abbot of Clugny, "Peter the Venerable," still to be opposed to Bernard took the side of blind fanaticism. Dean Milman, "History of Latin Christianity," Vol. IV. p. 396.

repellent and peculiar laws, their disbelief in Christ, in short every piece of sophistical clericalism that had ever been used as a license to murder the Jews and pillage their houses, was reiterated by this fierce teacher of religion. "Of what use is it" he said "for us to go forth to seek the enemies of Christendom in distant lands, if the blasphemous Jews who deride the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper and scoff at His Mother live in our midst. Still we must not slay these abominable beings, because that is forbidden by Scriptural injunction. God does not desire to utterly exterminate them, but like the murderer Cain, they must be made to suffer the most fearful torments and live in ignominy, an awful existence far bitterer than death, they are dependent on us in misery and agony, they are filled with dread and are accursed and must so remain till they turn to Christ for succour. Do not kill these execrable and loathsome creatures but afflict them as bitterly as you can." Louis VII, though he did not detest them with the feral hatred of the clergy, was yet bound to give effect to the Papal bull absolving Crusading debtors of their obligations to them. The acrimonious sermons of Peter foreboded the affliction to which they were in all parts of Europe to be subject, the argument in favour of pillaging them being universally popular, they (the Crusaders) could enrich themselves, and provide weapons from one nation of infidels to wage war against another. Besides the Turks were armed infidels and very far away, and as Gibbon remarks, it was much easier to get at the defenceless Israelitish unbelievers.

Louis, who countenanced the wholesale and unjust seizure of Jewish wealth and property, approved of the decree releasing the Crusaders of their debts to the Jews, yet the Pope (Alexander III) reproved him for his "favouring them against the Word of God." The reason for the Papal reproof is perhaps better understood when we remember that though Louis was lax enough in protecting their property, he repressed with an iron hand any attempts at a general massacre of the owners. Fortunately these all proved abortive during his reign, even at a period when Germany was swimming in Semitic blood. On one occasion, Bernard of Clairvaux, was the good genius of the German Jews, though in France he had permitted every manner of commercial chicanery and gross dishonesty to be practised against the resident members of that race (it is suggested that this was an exigent : how far the statement is true we are not in a position to say). He lent his powerful influence to stay the frightful ravages and fiery fanaticism the eloquent monk Rudolph had, with his poisonous facundity, created. This monk had escaped from his cloister and travelled through every town and village in the German provinces most thickly inhabited by

Jews, "the Murderers of God and the vile slanderers of His Blessed Mother." Preceded by a banner upon which was inscribed "Destroy the Enemies of Christ," his appearance was everywhere as unerring a signal of death to the Jews, as if they were already bound to the stake. They trembled and hid themselves at the bare mention of his name. Bernard denounced this preacher of death as an outlawed son of the Church, who had fled his cell, and were it not for his vast influence—an influence infinitely greater than that possessed by any man in Europe, for the Pope, the Monarchs and the nobility of every country ever consulted and faithfully obeyed his slightest wish—Rudolph would have continued to incite massacres of the race. As it was he was compelled to retire to his monastery. His denunciator declared in the most vehement tones that the murdering of Jews was subversive of every moral principle. Good Christians should pray on every Good Friday for their blindness to religion to leave them. They might be harassed a little, but wholesale murder would never overcome their obduracy.

The letter of the Archbishop of Mayence to St. Bernard laments that "Rudolph delighted and emboldened by his success waxes ever more violent and the Jews of these parts are likely to be entirely blotted out." From St. Bernard's reply to the Archbishop, we cite one paragraph, "Does not the Church triumph more fully over the Jews by convincing or converting them from day to day, than if she once and for ever were to slay them all with the edge of the sword. Is the prayer of the Church[1] appointed in vain, which is offered up for the perfidious Jews from the rising of the sun to the going down of the same, praying that the Lord will take away the veil from their hearts that they may be lifted up from their darkness to the light of truth. For if the Church did not hope that those who doubt will one day believe, it would be vain and superfluous to pray for them."[2]

The reign of the next few monarchs following Louis III were periods of unalloyed wretchedness to the Jews. In Paris and in many

---

(1.) The following prayer is contained and said at the present hour in the Roman Catholic "Missal." Richardson's edition, Good Friday Service, p. 332.

"Let us pray for the perfidious Jews that the Lord God would withdraw the veil from their hearts that they may also acknowledge our Lord Jesus Christ thy Son." The flection or bending the knee in prayer as for all other heretics is omitted in abhorrence of some imaginary insult offered to Christ by his judges. The prayer continues "O Almighty and eternal God who deniest not thy mercy even to the perfidious Jews, hear our prayers which we pour forth for the blindness of that people that by acknowledging the light of thy truth which is the Christ they may be brought out of their darkness."

(2.) C. Coutter Morrison, "Life of St. Bernard," p. 157.

provincial towns they were compelled to reside in stipulated neighbourhoods, they were being constantly accused of the most frightful crimes, these accusations invariably found credence and the Jews were punished not only in France but throughout Europe.

When an Eastern Caliph persecuted his Christian subjects, those who did not know the very name of this august tyrant, were charged of being privy to his cruel oppressions. "False as this rumour was it became a pretext for the wide spread persecution of the Jews in Christian lands."[1] "In France itself they were the object of so much execration, that any act of cruelty to them was regarded as a meritorious deed. Nearly everywhere they were outraged and plundered with impunity, the people barbarously taking vengeance for their own sufferings on these hapless beings, thinking they honoured God in persecuting them."[2] The Jews were always being accused of insulting and mutilating the host and the most preposterous fables were propagated and believed in to their injury in consequence. "A Jew in Paris had received in pledge a Christian woman's best clothes. Easter was drawing nigh and he refused to give up the articles (so it was stated) unless the enemy promised to bring to him the "Host," which she was about to receive at Holy Communion. Refusing at first she finally consented. The fact became known that a Jew had got possession of the sacred host, it was instantly spread abroad that he had thrown it into a cauldron of boiling water and that ever since the infant Jesus had been swimming about on its surface beneath which nothing would cause Him to sink. Crowds beset the Jew's house, people pretended to have seen the infant. The wretched Hebrews were seized and in abject fear confessed all that they were ordered. The supposed culprit was condemned to be burnt alive. The poor creature regretted not having his book of the Gemara with him, thinking it would save him. They brought him his Gemara and burned both it and him together."[3]

Throughout the country they were hunted about like beasts of the chase, tortured, oppressed, and denied every human right. "They were sold, bequeathed or pawned by one baron to another, were given in dowries and had lost every vestige of human freedom. No more expeditious method of raising supplies existed for an impoverished vassal of the Crown than to mortgage his Jews."[4] Many lawsuits could be instanced which illustrate the position my unfortunate ancestors held.

(1.) Archer and Kingsford, "The Crusades," p. 18.
(2.) Emile de Bonnechose, "Histoire de France," Vol. I, p. 146.
(3.) Prof. Henri Martin, "Histoire de France," Vol. III. p. 83.
(4.) Dean Milman.

In 1147 the Jew murdering fever attacked the country in a measure beyond all suppression ; some victims, would have to fall into the merciless clutches of its inhabitants before their fury could be appeased. In Carenton a pitched battle took place, the Crusaders attacked the those there with blind fury. The latter fell back into their houses, which they at once barricaded to prevent the ingress of their relentless opponents. The beleaguered Jews we are told fought like lions at bay and killed such a number of their adversaries that the remnant by the exercise of strategical skill sought access to a court in the rear of the position occupied by the Jews, when oblivious to all dictates of humanity or nobility to vanquished foes, they slew them to a man. The hellish quest for Jews had however not ended, nor was their barbarity satiated. The town of Sully was the theatre of more Jewish agony. At Rameru the pilgrims of the Cross burst into the house of the most prominent Jew in Europe, Jacob Tam (grandson of Rashi) cast his large library, his valuable manuscripts and his beloved "Scroll of the Law" into the flames and dragged him to an adjoining field to torture him to death. Knowing his reputation for learning and virtue they resolved to avenge the death of Christ upon the venerable old man. They made five horrible gashes in his head in vengeance of the five wounds of Jesus. He was on the point of dying, when a knight riding by, who knew his sterling eminence and piety, saw his inanimate form lying in the ditch into which he had been cast, and saved him from a terrible death. Had it not been for the kindly offices of this knight, Tam would have perished. As it was he lived to witness the levelling of the base and improbable charges against the Jews of using the blood of Christian children for the Ritual of the Passover Festival. Like a sleuth hound this barmecide accusation has followed them through the centuries, never losing its trail, never swerving from its path, notwithstanding the fact that it has been oppugned by Popes, denied by monarchs, disproved by the greatest thinkers. It has remained like a ghoul in the minds of the people. It has been a foul ulcer in the side of history, from which Jewish blood has gushed, aye poured like torrents. This monstrous lie has filled the hearts of innocent men with apprehension, their steps with caution, their very speech it has clothed in fear. It is an ignominious survival of human credulity, an ignoble relic of priest manipulated ignorance. It is that lie that has drenched the awful story of the Jew with blood. It is that lie that has fermented the hatred of Christians into deeds far exceeding in barbarity the actions of fiends. It is that lie which is yet in many countries dinned into the ears of little children, sowing the seeds of hatred and persecution in their susceptible minds.

Though the lie has oft succumbed to inquiry its wraith is ever with us. Though it had been oft bruited about in England, it found its practical inauguration in Blois. A trifling incident terminated in a most horrible massacre of his compatriots of them in that town. A Jew was riding towards the River Loire intending to bathe his horse, which growing restless veered around from the water and being under no restraint galloped off. A churlish groom happening to witness the incident resolved to pander to the sentiments of his Jew-hating master by accusing the Jews of ritual murder. The details were soon arranged, a halo of pious horror thrown around a palpable fabrication and the story was given out. The Jew had murdered a Christian child and thrown it into the Loire, after draining it of its blood. Duke Theobald then ordered every Hebrew soul in the town to be thrown into dungeons pending their trial, but his grasping covetousness and insatiable love of money augured well—they imagined—for them. He had already agreed to accept their entire wealth, property, and outstanding debts and grant them their freedom, but a much feared and powerful monk insisted upon the most exemplary punishment being visited upon the entire congregation, because one of its members had been seen near the river on horseback. The whole population clamorously demanded the execution of the poor Jews. Duke Theobald then ordered that those of Blois should to a soul, suffer death at the stake. Thirty-four men, seventeen women and many children were dragged bound upon a specially erected platform and secured to stakes, in the presence of the foaming Christians who firmly believed in their guilt. This was considered to be proven by the "Ordeal of Water." The one who was primarily accused was put to sea in a boat perforated with holes and of course the boat sank. This was divine evidence of guilt. To prove innocence the boat would have to float ; a process that could not be achieved by anything less than a miraculous interposition. The priests clad in gorgeous vestments now mounted the platform and urged conversion upon these noble spirits. They were promised life, restitution of their possessions and immunity from all molestation, if they would even feign to accept Christianity. Now was witnessed an instance of that immanent adherence to faith and people, which the most awful tortures have ever failed to destroy. The martyrs of Blois persistently expressed their unwavering resolution to die in the faith of their fathers. They were temporarily dismounted from the platform and submitted to the most unrelenting tortures, the priests crucifix in hand, being unremitting in persuading them to abjure Judaism with their lips. Then the maimed victims of human hatred and malevolence were carried back

to the stake and again admonished to accept Christ and life. They remained firm and placid, their calmness astounding all assembled. The torturers finally perceived the absolute inutility of their efforts, the executioners were directed to kindle the flames and on that fateful 20th of Sivan, (26th May) 1171, while these heroes were reciting the prayer which declares the unity of God, the prayer which they had lisped out as happy children at the knees of their parents, the prayer which had guided them through life in the tenets of their creed and the prayer for the assertion of which every Jew is prepared to joyfully shed his life's blood,—"Hear O Israel, the Lord is our God, the Lord is One," they offered their holy spirits to the immutable Jehovah of their ancestors, whose laws they obeyed and whose glory they honoured at the cost of their earthly existence.[1] This heart-rending incident, which should have moved the heart of Europe to tears, was witnessed not with callous indifference but with the greatest rejoicings. The taunts and jests of the people formed an appropriate accompaniment to the loud voiced and baffled clergy, who infuriately tortured them here and cursed them hereafter. So perished these unhappy children of the Patriarchs whilst their brethren throughout Europe were inconsolable. The bitterest grief prevailed throughout the Jewish world. Fasts and penances were strictly observed and the ominous burning was lamented with the most abandoned grief. Rabbenu Tam ordained that this mournful day should be commemorated and just as the Jews of France had annually fasted on the anniversary of the massacre in London at Richard's coronation, so did those of other countries fast for many decades in honour of the Blois martyrs. But it had gone forth that the Jews murdered Christians to procure their blood for Passover. The calamity referred to above was a harbinger of untold misery and a portentous omen of misery. It foreshadowed what the Jews would have to endure from this inane accusation. The blood accusation has ever hovered over the Israelites like a hydra-headed flammivomous dragon pouncing upon them with unparalleled fury. It carried in its cothurnate train massacre, murder, torture, plunder and every kind of unmitigated misery, for despite the fact that their literature had been searched and microscopically examined by prejudiced clerics, and the innumerable occasions upon which this fabrication had been disproved, despite the confessions of the few poorer spirited Jews, who had succumbed to the blandishments of the priesthood, despite the fact that every arbitrary contortion and wilful misconcep-

(1.) Their religious books were confiscated, and ultimately sold to the congregations in the vicinity for 1000 livres.

tion was made of their religious service, not the slightest incriminating grain could be found to support this vacuous charge—one against which the Jew shuddered more than his oppressor—in vain their friends pointed to their Law which inculcated the most matchless humanity, and appealed to the Rabbinic traditions which taught the deepest sympathy even for dumb animals. This grim charge has even in recent times been hurled against them with all the violence of the Middle Ages and its baneful effects are but tardily disappearing.

Eleven years after the Blois tragedy (in 1182), when the Jews were gathered in their synagogues in celebration of the Sabbath, the military acting upon the instructions of Philip Augustus surrounded the sacred edifices throughout the country, arrested the worshippers and imprisoned them. They were then informed that their property was confiscated to the King and their Christian debtors had (on payment of one fifth to himself) been released from discharging the claims of the incarcerated. But though Philip had impoverished his wealthy Jewish subjects he was not yet satisfied ; he published an edict ordering the entire people to quit his domains by an assigned date. He had sought to effect their tribulation by every conceivable means and had since his fifteenth year characterized his reign by the most frightful persecution of that people,[1] but now he played his last card. All fields, barns, magazines, wine-presses and houses that had belonged to them were by Royal proclamation declared to be the inalienable property of the Kings of France. They were allowed to sell their portable effects, and by granting this concession Philip thought he had dealt most equitably. In vain they appealed for him to annul this disastrous decree of banishment and sent clandestine deputations offering large sums of money for a revocation or even respite. The King was adamant and even the entreaties of his more liberal-minded advisers failed to arouse his diplomatic forethought much less his sympathy. They pointed out to him how his predecessors had made tacit recognition of their merits and with how much risk a scheme was fraught, the execution of which accomplished the denudation of France of her commercial classes.[2] They pointed out to him how while France was in its infancy it had derived indisputable benefits from their commerce. Their vessels had indeed ever found ready markets for French produce in all the ports of the Mediterranean. But the

---

(1.) Emile de Bonnechose.

(2.) It was from the wealth of the Jews that Paris began to rear her fortresses and lofty edifices. Dean Milman, "History of the Jews," Vol. III, p. 219.

resolute Monarch unmindful of their services and their learning and heedless of their protestations remained unmoved. Before St. John's Day the Jews must quit. Fortunately the power of the Carlovingian Monarchs had begun to wane and his relentless mandate was practically disregarded by the great majority of his feudatories; in fact the expelled Parisians were received in many provinces with every token of sympathy for their harsh treatment, though in the royal districts they were compelled to mournfully leave their homes, completely beggared through inability to find purchasers for their few trinkets.

In 1191 Philip Augustus—ever their bitter foe—lengthened the roll of Jewish martyrs on French soil by nearly one hundred persons. The circumstances, briefly related, are these:—A brutal Christian peasant waylaid an aged and highly respected Jew and belabouring him with a cudgel commanded him to reject his faith. This, the white-headed old man firmly refused to do, and after being most frightfully mutilated by his murderer died in great agonies. The Hebrews of Bray (in Champagne) were then an important body in the town and demanded from the Countess the murderer's delivery. She, highly incensed at this atrocious murder, acceded to their request. They put the assassin to death, but such oblique and distorted reports, and such palpable perversions of what had transpired were conveyed to the irate Philip—who was delighted to have a pretext against the Jews—that he hastened to Bray in person and, with a troop of soldiers encircled the Jewish quarter to prevent the exit of its inhabitants. He then offered them the alternative of death in acceptance of Christianity. Their depravity it appears was not great enough to render them unable to become good Christians. It is with justifiable pride we relate that not one quailed before the awful ordeal nor did one heart grow faint when confronted with death. Like the Jews of York who had less than a year before immolated themselves, they unanimously decided to meet death at each other's hands. Yet the Holy Soldier of Christ, the Warrior of the Crusades, seized nearly one hundred of them and offered them up as a burnt offering to the wrath of his subjects.

Meanwhile a new crusade had been ordered by Pope Innocent III, one of the most whimsically cruel and capricious of Pontiffs. He

(1.) They had a large share in the restoration of learning and the cultivation of science. Their schools abounded in erudite men and scientific expounders. Through them many Greek writers were translated into Arabic, thence to be rendered into the tongues of Europe and made accessible to the young Universities of the West. Through them medicine was revived to become the parent of physical science in general. They were universal translators, publishers and literary correspondents, and almost the only representatives of commerce. While superstition reigned elsewhere, they were comparatively free from it. Prof. Hosmer, 'The Jews," p. 140.

directed a monk, Fulko de Neuilly, a dissolute and abandoned character universally loathed for his debaucheries, to preach it in the North of France. His noxious eloquence obtained for the Papal banner many votaries, many of the French barons becoming inoculated with his theatrically declaimed doctrines. He considered such a state of public ferment as he had created most favourable for the harassing of the Jews. All Christians when once they assumed the Crusaders' Cross were absolved of their debts to them. The more zealous of the barons, even those who had sheltered the victims of Philip's decree, now expelled them from their baronries with equal determination. When in 1198 Philip Augustus permitted them to lawfully re-establish themselves in every part of France the barons were astounded ; it was to them inexplicable after his inveterate persecution of the Jews to re-admit them. No doubt their commercial skill and financial aptitude had made itself felt by its absence, although his pique against the Pope and his representatives in France could to his mind best be displayed by favouring their hated enemies. He was sharply reprimanded by Innocent III for what he in a very vigorous epistle termed his favouring of the Jews.[1] "He was deeply grieved," he said "that the descendants of the crucifiers should be placed on an equality with the heirs of the Crucified." "Can the son of a slave" he argued, "be equal to the son of a free woman ? He had heard that the Jews in France actually hired Christian servants, that they held property,[2] that their liberty was now very great and that the Jewish community of Sens had built a most beautiful synagogue the turret of which was higher than any of the churches in that town."

In 1208 a code was promulgated from the throne dealing immediately with the Jews and their liberty, which was again placed under many odious restrictions.

In 1223 on the accession of Louis VIII all interest upon monies lent by Israelites was declared null. The sum borrowed was to be restored in three yearly instalments. They were now by statute attached to the soil like the villeins of England and thus lost their freedom of movement through the cruel will of a despotic sovereign. Ever forced to wander from land to land, to cross oceans and wildernesses in quest of a livelihood and peace, they were now compelled to remain

---

(1.) "This" says Rule (History of the Inquisition, p. 9,) "means that he no longer destroyed them on the credit of vulgar calumnies."

(2.) In the twelfth century we find them not only possessed of landed property in Languedoc and cultivating the studies of medicine and Rabbinical literature in their own academy at Montpelier under the protection of the court of Toulouse, but invested with civil offices. Hallam's "Europe."

on the soil that had already witnessed so much of their bitter degradation. The serf was assigned no worse humiliation. It is well known that a deed exists which sets forth the sale by a Count of Champagne, of his lands and Jews thereon attached. Their status was indeed pitiable, they were ground into the very slough of despair. In the South however their position was much better. Count Raymond the Good protected his Jews, but was however severely taken to task on that account by the Pope, who stigmatized his conduct in favouring (i.e. protecting) the Jews as most reprehensible. Yet even this most inimical of the Popes, who had it in his power to embitter or render peaceful the lives of the Jews, was often compelled to interpose and lessen the rigidity and merciless cruelty with which they were treated. A cogent illustration of the shameful wrongs he sought to redress is presented by an extract from the Constitutio de Judaeorum, a series of laws issued by Innocent III to shield them from the fearful excesses of the Crusaders.

This code provided that they were no longer to be seized and dragged to the baptismal font. They were not to be maimed, robbed, or murdered without having been officially tried and sentenced for some crime, they were not to be assailed with missiles or whipped during their services in the synagogue, their cemeteries were not to be desecrated, their dead were not to be exhumed or the corpses insulted. Such inconceivable horrors had to be legislated for. But their protection from lawlessness was not on grounds of justice or humanity It was a retaliatory measure intended as a means of mortifying the overbearing Jew-hating monarchs of Europe and their vassals. It was an action quite compatible with the low character of Innocent. Yet despite these provisions much Jewish blood was to be shed within a very brief period from their promulgation. In 1209 the Pope entrusted a crusade of extermination against the Albigenses to Simon de Montfort. Simon, his wife and son, had been the most sedulous persecutors of the English Jews. The fury of this extirpating mission was primarily directed against " Count Raymond the Good," who was charged with favouring the Albigenses, that is, not embruing his hands in their blood, and worse still with the flagrant crime of intrusting the Jews with public offices. On the 22nd of July the city of Beziers—already rendered egregious for its maltreatment of the Jews—was stormed and 20,000 innocent people of all ages were ruthlessly slain, babes at the breast fared no better than did their parents ; 200 Jews lost their lives while a large number were made prisoners and sold into slavery. Count Raymond was stripped of his office, and compelled to swear before a Papal legate presiding over the

Council of Avignon, (Sept. 22, 1209,) to no longer favour the Jews. The word "favour" was in the eyes of the Church a term indicating the accordance to dissidents from Papacy of the rights which they as law-abiding citizens were entitled to exercise. Many violent resolutions were adopted by this Council. The barons of free cities, it fulmined, are to entrust no office to the Jews. They must prevent them from employing Christian servants, they must not be allowed to work on Sundays, to eat meat during Lent, all this had been sworn to the Pontifical Envoy "Milo." Raymond, naked and scourged, was dragged before him and while in a supplicating posture with a sword at his heart was forced to swear to discharge and humiliate his Jewish ministers and friends. The Albigenses were still undaunted and through the subsequent victories of Count Raymond, they were once again promoted by their liberal-minded protector. Their renewed elevation so enraged Alice de Montmorency (wife of Simon de Montfort) that she seized all the Hebrews of Toulouse, where her authority was recognised and imprisoned them, offering them the alternative of martyrdom in the acceptance of Christ. All children of less than six years of age were by her order taken from their parents and forcibly baptized.[1] These high handed proceedings were however deprecated by her husband, who had promised them liberty of person and conscience. It is note-worthy that the vast majority remained resolute to undergo any fate rather than apostatize from Judaism. On the 1st Av (7th July) 1217, the prisoners were relieved of their suspense and to their great delight informed that they were free, but their children, the vindictive Cardinal Bertrand decided, were not to be returned to them. They fasted, mourned and performed all manner of penance to avert Bertrand's evil decree, but their sorrow was nugatory ; the fiat was declared irrevocable. He gave his Bishops orders to compel the wearing of the "Jewish Badge." So zealously did he enforce conformity to the canons of the various Ecclesiastical Councils, that the Pope was compelled to request him to exercise some little leniency. How many petty barons and liege lords of the King may have committed deeds of outrage, equal to that of Alice, which History has considered too trivial to record ?

The Jews were not again officially molested till 1231, when the "Council of Tours" reviewed their position and as the result of its deliberations directed that all the persecuting laws of the "Fourth

(1.) Similar events took place in 1219, also in Poitou, Anjou, and Brittany, 500 Jews joined the Church, over 3000 were slain by mobs, and some killed themselves and their children.

Lateran Council" should be rigorously enforced. Simultaneously the "Council of Rouen" passed many drastic ordinances that bore directly against the Jews under its jurisdiction. The anti-Jewish feeling that permeated these two Councils can be directly traced to the new Crusade against heretics, so fiercely carried out by the instigation of Pope Gregory IX. The Dominican monks had been invested with plenary powers to hear all cases of heresy, or rather liberty of conscience and conviction. The Jews were not nearly so cruelly treated as the "Albigenses," the Mohammedan inhabitants of France and other sects and creeds who denied the omnipotence of Gregory. They were visited with every species of human suffering and tortured by every diabolical instrument man could devise. Spain was the theatre of their greatest activity. The Jews of France were, as we have already seen, continually being accused of ritual murder and these accusations were invariably attended with a parody of a trial and its concomitant looting expedition.

In 1236 (July 10) there occurred an anti-Jewish outbreak, that eclipsed all their previous sufferings on French territory. The Pope had given an order for another Crusade. The warriors of the Cross were massed together near Anjou and before proceeding to deeds of intrepidity against the Saracen they resolved to perform a preliminary exercise by massacring the defenceless Jewish heretics who were so near at hand and so accessible. The barbarians fell upon all the Jewish communities in the provinces of Anjou and Poitou and the city of Bordeaux, committing deeds of the most unparalleled atrocity thinking to compel them to discard Judaism. With what glowing pride do we relate that but a very few of the more timorous accepted the gruesome alternative to death. With a few exceptions all the communities attacked firmly and obdurately refused the terms offered. In the name of one who had said "Thou shalt love thy enemies," they murdered thousands of human beings. In the name of one who had taught honour to the aged they tore hoary headed old Jews limb from limb. For the sake of one who had blessed little children, saying "Their's is the Kingdom of Heaven," crying babes were rent from shrieking mothers and trampled under foot by the horses of these savages. To perpetuate the glory of one who had revered the humblest of women, they tortured pregnant women to renounce the God of Israel. Over three thousand victims fell during the few days (10th.—16th.) Their synagogues and houses were demolished and their scrolls of the Law and Talmuds burnt. Louis IX (St. Louis) no doubt connived at this awful deed, for he hated the Jews so intensely, that he could not tolerate their presence. "Louis loved all

mankind with a boundless love except Jews, heretics, and infidels whom he hated with a boundless hatred."[1] He was the French Edward the Confessor with the blood embrued hands of William the Conqueror.

He oppressed the Jews in an unendurable degree.[2] He characterized his accession by freeing all Christians from interest on the debts due to them. In 1232 he officially recognized the rights of his great vassals to consider their Jews as attached to the soil. "His legislature upon the Jews is characteristic of his peculiar nature." For the salvation of his soul, the soul of his father, and of all his ancestors he acquits all Christians of one third of their debts to the Jews. Henceforth no debts shall be contracted. They shall abstain from all lendings of money on interest and live by the work of their own hands."[3] This unjust series of laws was issued in 1234, but they were comparatively mild when contrasted with those of the court of Brittany under the presidency of John of Ploermel, by which it was enacted that no Jew should be allowed to live in the country, all their property was confiscated, their debts, annulled and the insecure protection provided them against violence removed ; in short carte blanche was practically given for the mutilation and assassination of the hapless people. Thinking to aim a more deadly blow at them he, in 1243, at the instigation of a renegade Jew, ordered a most vigorous persecution of the Talmud and proscribed the entire Rabbinical literature on the plea that it contained anti-Christological references. Their valuable libraries containing priceless Oriental manuscripts were burned to the ground and twenty-four cartloads of the Talmud publicly made into a bonfire by the public executioner in the market square of Paris. "These writings were their standards, standards venerated without abatement down to the present hour ; a veneration almost universal and a principal cause why the Jews so sundered and smitten have maintained solidarity."[4] Before ordering the burning a ludicrous show of justice had been made for a public disputation as to the contents of this repository of Jewish learning had been ordered.

(1.) "History of Latin Christianity," Vol. VI. p. 300.

(2.) The Layman, said St. Louis, has but one argument against Jews and infidels ; his good sword. Even clerks—unless profoundly learned—should use none other. If you hear a man is an infidel do not dispute with him, run your sword through his entrails and drive it home. He related with special approbation the anecdote of a brave old knight who broke up a discussion on the relative excellence of their law between some Catholic Doctors and some Jewish Rabbis, by bringing down his mace and felling the principal Jew teacher. "History of Latin Christianity," Vol. VI. p. 300.

(3.) "Oxford Essays," Dr. Bridges.

(4.) Prof. Hosmer.

It was conducted on these lines: the accusers, renegade Jews and Dominican monks, were to say whatever they desired without hindrance, whilst the utterances of the Rabbis however were to be very brief, to contain nothing impugning Christianity or offensive to Christian ears. Thus the burning of the Book could be the only outcome of such a mock disputation.

A French Crusade against the Talmud had now been inaugurated and for three years it was waged with alternations of rampant hostility and illegal toleration. The few brief interludes of peace were however mainly due to the exertions of the humanistic Archbishop of Sens, who interceded with St. Louis on its behalf. After his death Pope Innocent IV, who had heretofore refrained from any actual condemnation of the work in question, was induced by the importunities of his fanatical legate Octo to ratify Louis' edict for its proscription as a heretical work. The Jews were disconsolate when they learned that Louis' dormant decree had received Pontifical sanction and fasted for two consecutive days praying earnestly for the repeal of a decree which robbed them of all the glamour of their national and synagogal life. The same King taxed the Jews most heavily for the expenses of the Crusade in which he took part.

In 1238 the mob of Paris sallied forth against the Jews assigning no other motive for the deed than hatred. After the demolition of the quarters assigned to them by Royal Charter they mangled and murdered a large number of the hated Hebrews.

St. Louis gave a great amount of attention to the "Jew Badge." He stipulated its size, shape and colour and instructed the Dominican monks, to whose hands was relegated its enforcement to regard any contravention of his saintly enactment as a personal insult. This mark of infamy, which the Saint compelled every Jew in his dominions to wear both upon his breast and back, was a piece of cloth in the shape of a wheel. Women were not exempted from the uniform operation of this edict, which originated as much from clerical prompting and influence as kingly hatred. Alarm lest any Jew should be allowed to appear in public unmolested was the primary cause of this law, it being feared he might be mistaken for a Christian. If one of the despised creatures had the hardihood to walk about without prominently displaying this symbol of his turpitude, it was ordained that "he shall forfeit his coat to the first Christian who meets him." If he on a second occasion had the temerity to divest himself of this general invitation to the rabble to fall upon him and belabour him with their cudgels or clumsy fists he was to be fined ten livres. The money it was further ordained was to be devoted to Christian purposes.

Louis was a man of the most rigid and austere piety, so devout that he heard two and generally three masses a day even when on a sea-voyage. He was helplessly priest-ridden and his fervid hatred of the Jews and all dissidents from Romanism was but the natural outcome of his bigoted training and cult. To his Christian subjects he was a veritable father and humane to a fault. "Boniface VIII in declaring his canonization called him the most Christian of all the monarchs of France; nay one of the truest Christians, Monarch or Peasant, Europe ever knew."[1] Wherever he might be, a hundred and twenty poor persons received daily two loaves each, a quart of wine, meat or fish enough for a good meal and a silver penny. Mothers had an extra loaf for each child. Besides the hundred and twenty who received out-door relief, thirteen others were daily admitted to the palace and had their meals with the officers of the Royal Household."[2] A panegyrist whose standpoint on human freedom and religious toleration can best be understood by his eulogy of this fanatical man says "he was an ideal man, King, and Christian, who did honour to France, Christianity, mankind, humanity and royalty."

To the Jews he was an implacable foe, and a fierce persecutor, any excesses against them when not actually held forth as laudable examples were condoned as inculpable. His overt laxity in punishing murderers of Jews combined with the dramatic eloquence of the infuriate monks were the primary causes that led to an appalling massacre of the Hebrew citizens of Orleans (1240). Not even the customary offer of baptism was made them, all were mowed down. Hoary headed old men, too feeble to walk, and helpless little babes clinging in despair to the maternal breasts that could afford them so little protection did not move these arrant cowards from their purpose; for to show mercy to a Jew was the last extreme of heresy. The corpses of the slain were left unburied, to be devoured by the dogs, or to rot in the sun.

In May 1246 the Church Convocation of Beziers renewed many odious laws against the Jews and added others. The Church perceived that the great prevalence of Hebrew physicians and their employment by the nobles and aristocrats tended to give them a status and influence which their birth and disbelief precluded them from enjoying. Moreover it might conduce to giving them a species of moral weight with those minds whose bodies their skill had benefited. It was therefore stipulated that no Jew be admitted to the profession or

---

(1.) Guizot, "Life of St. Louis," p. 8.
(2.) Guizot, "Life of St. Louis," p. 124.

practice of medicine and that any Christian employing a Jewish doctor or surgeon should be excluded from the Church as a recusant. It was furthermore laid down as a Church canon that "No Jew shall leave his home during Easter but shall pay on that festival an annual tax for the maintenance of the Church and its dignitaries." They were forbidden to touch meat during Lent, and the wearing of the outrageous "Jew Badge" was regulated by a most whimsical series of provisions. The restriction of the Jews from the practice of medicine was one of the most egregious pieces of folly ever perpetrated. The entire knowledge of all its higher branches rested exclusively with them, as evidenced by the avidity with which Christian physicians and surgeons ran to their lectures. In the words of Dr. Draper, they almost monopolized the medical and surgical skill of Europe, and in one century (the eleventh) nearly all the doctors in Europe were Jews. They had indeed instructed many French surgeons who owed their knowledge of practical and theoretical medicine and surgery solely to Semitic tuition. Despite the fulminant Council of Beziers, the vast majority, even of the most devout Catholics, did not disdain to employ Jews and make clandestine use of their skill.

The saintly Louis' bigotry was ever used as the lever to effect the humiliation of his Jewish subjects, but in 1250 he was aroused into such a pitch of fury by the taunts of his Crusading compeers, who twitted the orthodox monarch with allowing infidel Jews to reside in his kingdom, that he ordered—with the exception of a few specified crafts—the banishment of all Jews in France. The merchants and impecunious nobles were however unable to dispense with them, so for once prudence and state-craft overcame hatred and fanaticism and they were very shortly recognized as being legally resettled. The bigotry of Louis though subdued by the sagacity of his ministers, had not however become extinguished, it smouldered in his breast and four years later the priest-ridden Saint repeated the edict of 1250 with much more firmness. As invariably happened in all expulsions of Jews, their synagogues, cemeteries, and a great amount of their property went to fill the depleted coffers of their King. The monkish King was horrified to again discover that the Jews were a *sine qua non* to the progress of France. "There seemed to be no resource but to acknowledge the dependence of France on Jewish industry and wealth."[1] Their commercial and financial skill, their continental trade, their ability in conducting all kinds of delicate or complex negotiations caused their enforced absence to make itself felt so indubitably, that St. Louis had

(1.) Milman, "History of the Jews," Vol. III. p. 216.

no option but to hasten and recall them. In the provinces distant from Paris and those districts immediately administered by him, little or absolutely no notice had been taken of his furious order, the rulers of the different districts with general unanimity subordinating their sense of duty to their liege lord to that of their aversion to accelerating the ruin of their commerce and trade. The southern French communities had been slightly affected, but their recall to Paris and its adjoining cities improved their financial and political status in a tangible degree. Contemporary with the banishment of the Jews from England by Edward, the Gascon communities had been similarly treated and many ancient and historic Hebrew congregations were irretrievably disbanded—communities which had existed for centuries, and whose sole offence lay in their being Edward I's subjects. These poor wanderers were compelled to quit the homes of their youth and visit many strange lands ere they found rest.

Philip III, the next monarch, had long been accustomed to extort money from the Jews unfortunate enough to be under his rule, by alternate fierce threats and anguine blandishments, and when he ascended the throne his attitude towards the Jews showed no alteration in its economic policy. He had ever been wont to raise the necessary supplies for all his expeditions by means of those foul charges which—as if by tacit consent—the Sovereigns of Christendom launched against their Hebrew subjects. Philip codified and amplified all the repressive laws St. Louis had addressed to the Jews. He laid especial insistence upon the distinctive "Badge," against the degradation of wearing which the Jews of France—particularly the Provencal communities—had struggled so persistently.

Philip IV (le Bel) described by an authoritative biographer as the most rapacious and cruel monarch who ever sat on the throne of France, succeeded him. It was now the settled and recognized policy of the French Kings to periodically squeeze money from the Jews and the preceding observation of an impartial historian will intimate that he was not remiss in upholding what French comity to European States demanded. From the very first day of his reign he displayed—though perhaps with less bigotry than St. Louis—the greatest alacrity in vigorously persecuting them. Yet though he publicly harassed them he did not pose as an ardent hater of their religion or race ; it was their wealth he desired to convert to his own coffers. He was not content with the money dragged from foreign merchants on his shores, or with the money wrung from the fruit of his subjects' toil, he would wring more from the Jews. It is quite true that he had limited the power of the priesthood over their persons and deprecated their

depravity,[1] granting the Jews several minor concessions, but this he knew would conduce to increase his prospective spoil.

On the 21st of January, 1306, Philip gave clandestine order for their absolute expulsion. That of Louis IX had been the outcome of a moment's splenetic fury. Now it was a carefully deliberated, well matured State measure. The King assigned no motive whatever for this mad and impolitic deed. All the Royal bailiffs were apprised of the edict and by a cruel caprice of destiny on that fateful day on which so many disasters had befallen their race, when they were all assembled in their synagogues and Rabbinical colleges, praying and fasting, the Crown officers, who had not given the slightest inkling of their privily despatched instructions, roughly pounced upon them and dragged every Jewish soul in the kingdom to prison. So perfectly had this move been planned and so carefully had the prisoners been shadowed during the few months intervening from the secret issue of the ferocious order to their arrest, that there was not one single Jew or Jewess in the country who was not under lock and key on the tenth of Ab. After the agony of several days' cruel suspense, they were told that within thirty days they must leave the kingdom. All their wealth, property and goods were to be forfeited to the Crown. It was a much more cruel banishment than that in England, for there they were allowed to retain some fraction of their rightful belongings. The majority of the banished Jews had seen none other than French soil, it was endeared to them as the scene of their infancy, adolescence and manhood. With it was attended all the sacred memories of infantile innocence and youthful fervour. For ten centuries at least they had been subjects of France yet not Frenchmen in name. "The anomalous position of the Jews in mediæval Europe was due to the intolerance of the Church, which rendered it impossible for them to become citizens of their native country without abjuring their ancestral faith."[1] Throughout France their seats of learning had spread light and culture. Their sedulous industry, their commercial knowledge and their practical worth, had nourished many French

---

(1.) There can be no doubt that the Frankish clergy were in general sunk low in character as in estimation. Philip, well informed doubtless of what he might expect, demands authority of the Pope to punish by summary degradation the incredible profligacy especially of the lower ecclesiastics, as well as to interdict the unchristian occupations of the soldier bishops who indulged in all the licence of the camp, drunkenness, gambling and quarrelling, and all the ferocity of the field of battle, even bloodshed; whether that of pagans or christians. "History of Latin Christianity," Vol. III. p. 14.

(2.) Joseph Jacobs, B.A., "The Jews of Angevin England," p. 1.

provinces.[1] They had been the carriers of intellectual influence and though driven into exile had accomplished their destiny. They had silently deposited in France their ideas and sapped the credulity of the higher classes.[2] They had lavished untold wealth upon their establishments and synagogues, their beautiful vineyards and their well tilled grounds (adequate proofs of their diligence) were all to be confiscated. The edict was irrevocable, their loud entreaties were disregarded, their bitter tears unheeded. The obdurate Philip did not consider that France was their only home and what their abilities had done to enrich his dominions and his hitherto scanty learning. Their wealth had no attraction ; their protestations no success. One hundred thousand men, women and children were expatriated by one stroke of a madman's pen and had to leave the country of their birth. Though they had suffered much within its borders, although they had been fleeced and maltreated by its inhabitants, they were yet loth to leave their native land, the scenes of their childhood, but September 12, 1306, saw their departure. An authority cites the lament of one noble youth who said, " From the House of Learning have they torn me. Naked was I forced as a youth to leave my ancestral home and wander from land to land and from people to people whose tongues were strange to me." Another heart-broken Jew says, " I, unhappy, saw the misery of the banishment of the Sons of Jacob, who like a herd of cattle were driven asunder. From a state of honour was I thrust into darkness : from a rich man have I become a beggar and though a weak man a homeless wanderer." The departure of the Jews was accompanied with inexpressible sorrows, their exodus was embittered by the very people amongst whom they had been reared, amongst whom they had passed their lives. Not one was there among all the spectators who was moved by the least spark of humanity. Not one breast was there penetrable by the tears of the harmless and inobtrusive victims of a tyrant's feral wish. Not one who would by a kind word assuage the poignant anguish of fathers, forced to witness the gipsy-like wanderings of delicate and weeping wives, of weary and starving children, of soothing babes forced to partake in their parents' legacy of sorrow, and to die amid Christian contumely (for many children perished from hunger, others from cold, quite naked, in their mother's arms) ; not one to lessen the tears of sons who saw their

---

(1.) The Jews held in their hands much of the trade of the world ; they were in perpetual movement and commercial intercommunication. Locomotion—for such is always its result—tended to make them intellectual. " The Intellectual Development of Europe," Vol. II. p. 119.

(2.) Idem, p. 126.

aged parents, wrinkled, grey and bent, who begged for one moment to rest their trembling forms ; not one tear for mothers who heard their starving, woe-begone children ask for rest, for food ; yet thousands there were to jeer, to jest, to taunt the hounded children of the Prophets, to twit at their grief and loudly mock their pain.

The synagogues, that had witnessed so much of their grief and heard so many of their prayers, were turned into churches. Louis presented one Jewish house of prayer to a favourite postillion. "The Canon of Pisa with two Dominicans were sent to superintend the sale of their stolen goods."[1] These brought the State immense wealth, the sale of Jewish properties in Orleans and district, alone produced half a million francs. But the cruel injustice to which they were submitted did not end here ; several invalids had been unable to leave these tyrannical shores by the stipulated time. In the town of Chignon several Jews and Jewesses, who were either too aged or too infirm to walk and could not leave the country were seized and roughly ordered to discard Judaism. A few were in such a state of collapse that they died under interrogation, but many hoary-headed heroes resolutely refused the terms of freedom offered them. Chief of these was Eliezer ben Joseph of Chignon, a man of eminent repute, who had led a life of blameless integrity from his cradle to his martyr's pyre. His white locks did not move his bloody-handed captors. Bound to the stake, the red and angry forked tongued flames soon devoured the mundane envelope that contained this old lion's soul ; it was soon free. One more crime was added to the list of Christian ignominy, one more lustrous jewel in the crown of Israel's fame, in Judah's diadem of glory. A fair number of Jews had found comparative shelter and protection in the smaller towns in which the Kingly influence was not so directly potent, notably Perpignan. Phillip however fearing that a handful might escape his fury ordered a thorough search for all Jews whose existence had been hushed up. The officers of the Crown thus ferreted out a round number, who by the acumen of their kingly persecutor were subjected to the same fate as had been accorded their brethren. They, by judicious offers of money and goods, had evaded the command to quit the country. Thus in 1311 these, together with a substantial number who had incautiously settled in a few out of the way districts, were banished with unrelenting vigour. "It was indeed," says a contemporary chronicler, " a most revolting spectacle to see so many learned men, who had advanced and benefited France, proscribed wanderers without a country or an asylum.

(1.) Dean Milman, " History of the Jews."

Louis X the next monarch was evidently quite anxious to reverse or vary all the decrees of his august father ; his foibles he criticized with Zoilean tongue ; his laws he loudly condemned as impracticable. It is advanced in his favour that he considered their political outgrowth and in what many noxious laws bearing upon the Jewish exiles might culminate. He certainly was astute enough to perceive that in many cities the commerce had sensibly diminished and that the culture of the nation was not so high and—worst of all—in cases of necessity, there was no body of people in the kingdom, who would tamely submit to being periodically pillaged. He therefore sought to encourage the resettlement of the banished Jews in France. His motives are clear when we note the depleted state of Louis' finances ; his beggared nobles coincided with his views and hailed with glee their resettlement. After concessions had been obtained on the one side and mild restrictions imposed on the other, they purchased for twelve years the right of resettlement and many concomitant liberties. At the expiration of this period they were to receive a full year's notice, if it were Louis' intention to expel them ; this they knew motives of state expediency would not permit. They returned in multitudes overjoyed once more to see their native land. The beautiful lines of Sir Walter Scott :—

> Lives there the man with heart so dead,
> Who never to himself hath said
> This is my own my native land :
> Whose heart within him ne'er hath burned,
> As home his footsteps he has turned,
> From wandering on a foreign strand.[1]

unconsciously sear into the mind of the reader of this return.

Their old synagogues were restored to them, their schools, their cemeteries, their valuable books ; they were allowed to demand and retain one third of their previously uncollected debts : (for in the turmoil of their expulsion and through the negligence of the Royal bailiffs many had withheld Jewish money from the King), the remaining two thirds were appropriated by Louis as the price of his generosity. Louis only reigned two years and with the exception of the following lamentable injustice meted out by the Church to the Jews of Toulouse it was a period of comparative peace. "Assuming universal control the Inquisition of Toulouse laid its hands on books as well as persons ; and we find it stated that on November 28th, 1315 at the requisition and mandate of Bernard Guy, two large waggon loads of Hebrew books, being as many as could be found in searching the houses of the

(1.) "Lay of the Last Minstrel," Canto I.

Jews, were drawn through the streets of Toulouse, with a procession of servants of the royal court and a crier going before, who proclaimed with a loud voice that the books, said to be copies of the Talmud, contained blasphemies against Christianity and, having been examined by persons learned in the language, were to be burnt: and they were burnt accordingly."[1]

Philip V (le Long) pursued his brother's lenient policy still further, but the reigns of these two monarchs were but an ephemeral period in the history of the French Jews. The young King, who only unfortunately reigned six years, extended his equitable predecessor's liberal course to such a degree that many odious, if minor, restrictions in theoretical operation were removed. The rigour with which the Church had enforced the adoption of the hated Rouelle was considerably diminished, and to the sensitive Jew this was no small boon. The clergy and nobility inveighed most bitterly against Philip's temperate policy; they availed themselves of many opportune occasions to molest the Jews, who were unfortunate enough to be under their immediate jurisdiction. Thus the congregation of Lunel was charged with disrespect for Christian symbols on no stronger grounds than the antipathy of an influential monk. In Toulouse a vast number of copies of the Talmud were again seized and burnt as heretical and blasphemous.

A charge of treating the crucifix with ridicule was now directed against several Jewish communities. These unfounded and unproven charges which had their primary origin in the poverty of the State cost the Jews the tremendous sum of 150,000 livres. Such was the amount of the fine they had to pay (apportioned between the different congregations) for the crime of being the only available people at hand in a time of national contingency.

Yet these unjust deeds and exactions were pure travesties on their sufferings compared to the horrible story of the tragic rising of the peasants in 1320. A vast and undisciplined horde of peasants, the scum of South France, rose in arms with the idea of possessing themselves of what is historically known as the Holy Sepulchre. The Virgin Mary had, it was averred, personally called upon several of the leaders, begging them to lead the peasantry to Palestine, and then, taking the form of a dove, flown away. Purporting to be divinely inspired the ignominious dispersion of the Crusaders did not deter them or quench their fiery ardour. They very rapidly grew into such a fierce and formidable host as to cause the King and his court the

(1.) Dr. D. H. Rule, "History of the Inquisition," p. 40.

gravest apprehension. Two ambitious and unscrupulous monks (one of whom had been expelled his order for his infamous conduct) pandered so adroitly to the incredible credulity of the ever growing multitudes as to become their prime leaders. Their inordinate ambition coalesced with the gullibility and belief of their followers in every gross and palpable imposture to write one of the bloodiest chapters in history. Before proceeding to attack the armed Saracen infidels, they decided to vent their dogmatic rage against the wealthy and defenceless Jewish ones. A logical line of hellish reasoning appeared to palliate their inhuman resolution, nay even render its perpetration a meritorious deed. The riches of the victims would be devoted to a holy cause ; they would purchase arms therewith to murder the Turks after their preliminary exercise upon the Jews. The programme was faithfully executed as far as the murder and sequential pillage of the latter had been agreed upon. The province of Languedoc witnessed the first great ebullition of their immoderate ardour. Whole communities were offered death or the still bitterer alternative. Yet though thousands upon thousands of the wretched people were slain after the most relentless torments and their goods plundered, historians have failed to cite one instance of a community, that rejected the religion for which they were persecuted with such unremitting savagery. Most terrible was the fate of the Jews in Verdun (on the Garonne). The humane governor of that town had on the approach of the devastating host ceded the tower to them and their co-religionists in the vicinity. Some five hundred souls were enabled to obtain ingress. The baffled mob raised a regular military siege and every detail of the memorable massacre at York 130 years before (of which it was almost a repetition) was repeated. Bravely as long as their strength lasted did they repulse their foes from the tower, but by firing the gates it was finally stormed. The ferocious shepherds were unable to contain themselves, they fell upon the exhausted and defenceless handful of Hebrews, who were unfortunate enough to be near the first breach the former had made, and with unprecedented savagery and wild yells of exultation hewed them down without pity. The main body having thus been slaughtered a pitched battle took place between the few survivors and the shepherds, but what could they hope to effect against such teeming multitudes of armed men ? A number of the unhappy people threw down their children to the victors, hoping thereby to elicit their sympathy, but as they saw them instantly beheaded or their brains battered out against the walls before their eyes, they quickly held a council to decide what course to adopt. They resolved to baulk the fanaticism of their enemies by meeting

death at each other's hands. The Rabbi selected a strong young man to slaughter them and all willingly submitted themselves to his gory-blade. Then he and the Rabbi dealt each other the death blows simultaneously. Thus these heroes shed unquenchable glory upon Israel's escutcheon. It is by acts such as these that she proves her divine mission. Her endless roll of voluntary martyrs defies the comparison of the "Calendar of Saints" or the chronicles of the bravest of nations. The seas of blood her sons have lost for her prestige far exceed those lost by the much vaunted martyrs of the Coliseum. That her sons have even been ready to die for her, is Israel's pride : that they were ever in the van of fame, her joy. A number of the peasants were captured and imprisoned but the applauding populace clamoured so loudly for their release, that to have refused the concession demanded would have been the inception of a sanguinary civil war. The Governor of Toulouse however made a determined resistance to the example of the heads of other towns where Jews had been massacred. He repressed the peasantry with no light hand and punished their cruel excesses with such exemplary vigour that several hundreds of trembling wretches ventured to leave the caves and forests in which they had concealed themselves and foolishly enter Toulouse. Alas ! poor Jews, all order, all restraint was openly set at defiance. Before the troops, who had been instantly despatched to quell the riot, arrived, all was over and the mutilated corpses of hundreds of murdered men, women and children covered the streets, their blood drenching the roads. During this fearful uprising against the Jews (Geziras ho-roim) considerably more than one hundred flourishing and long established communities numbering many thousands of people were butchered like herds of diseased cattle.[1] Agouleme, Bordeaux, Agenlastel, Savasin, Guillan, Rabenstein, Gimort, Auch and Albi are just a few of the many towns that witnessed the perpetration of the most barbarous enormities. At this period chivalry was in its very zenith of power and repute ; men would kill or be killed for an unpleasant jest ; a point of punctilio, a trifling dereliction of etiquette could embroil whole nations in protracted and bloody wars, but few and rare indeed the voices that deprecated—nay did other than loudly commend—the awful outrages daily committed against a weak and persecuted people. The siege and massacre at Verdun was but one day's work of the gory-handed soldiers of the Cross, whose march of death through the beautiful towns and villages of France

(1.) In all Gascony only twenty escaped death. In Toulouse barely one. The Jews of Sarasin committed suicide in their terror. In Jacca on the fast of 17th of Tammuz 410 were slaughtered.

has caused Solomon Ibn Verga to emit a shriek, that rings clearly to-day in the ears of all Hebrews. His grief surcharged and lugubrious "Shevet Jehudah" is indeed a gloomy yet truthful picture of Jewish sufferings in the Middle Ages.

Strange as it may seem France had not by any means exhausted her measure of horrors for her maligned and despised Hebrews, for in 1321 further massacres were instituted. A number of lepers, owing to the sparsity of food and the imagined neglect and indifference which the authorities felt towards their sufferings, sallied out of their retreats in numbers and poisoned several wells. They were interrogated in mediæval custom upon the rack and confessed their sole and individual guilt, but by suggestion amended the confession and added that they had been incited by the Jews to avenge the injuries they had received at the hands of the shepherds. Imagine a few men to have committed some grave crime in London (though we are very far indeed from advancing any observation tending to inculpate the Jews of complicity in the poisoning of the wells, because no evidence exists to that effect), and the entire English people throughout the world wherever scattered and however upright their lives, are held responsible ; tens of millions of its members have never seen or even heard of the few evil members of the nation, but they are guilty with them. A dispassionate and unbiassed mind would instantly taboo such a ridiculous action as foolish and unjust, yet this was the chief phase of the Jewish question in the Middle Ages. Truly an immoral but characteristic aspect. Once this lying confession extorted from the writhing lepers and all were satisfied. Those in authority contrived to gain the willing ear of the kingdom, so that they might with sufficient enormity punish the alleged but pre-adjudged instigators of the well-poisoners. They had indeed concocted some hideous but plausible tales that were well adapted to the political circumstances of the period.[1] The most popular of these was that the Saracen monarch had arranged that the Jews, whom he was known to befriend, were to poison numbers of the French and so militate against the prospect of victory in Philip's contemplated Crusade, by reducing the numerical strength of the country. This puerile story found general credence and although it had no other foundation than in the ignorance and ferocity of the people[2] they insisted on condign punishment being meted out to the supposititious offenders. Throughout the South of

(1.) Speaking on the operation of the feudal system upon the vassals of the barons and the lower orders at this period Morrison says, ("Life of St. Bernard," p. 84,) the Jew was always forced to put his stockings on his head and recite a paternoster in the dialect of the place.

(2.) Bonnechose.

France they were massacred by thousands. The province of Aquitaine resounded with the shrieks of agonized Israelites, they were relentlessly tortured and slaughtered before the very eyes of that European Minotaur, John XXII, who raised no finger in deprecation but even gave them quiescent encouragement. Not content with waging war, long and bitter, against the Talmud and its cognate literature, or with sending to his cardinals and nuncios, who had plenary control over the Jews, most truculent bulls enjoining their furious persecution, he connived at their destruction en masse. With his own eyes he from his window witnessed the burning and torturing of Jews. On July 10 (1321) the authorities of Chignon dug a deep ditch, raised a huge pile and commenced to roast alive the terror-stricken Hebrews of that town. They, gradually becoming reconciled to their fate, were promised freedom and a written immunity from persecution, if they would consent to the abjuration of their faith. They disdainfully rejected the price asked them for liberty. One hundred and sixty doomed wretches were then bound in couples—man and woman—and flung headlong into the ditch in which an immense and roaring fire had previously been kindled, joyfully singing Jewish hymns and praises as if going to a bridal, as the forked tongues of fire encircled them. Their little children and babes they themselves had thrown into this fiery tomb to save them from the terrible fate of baptism. Their calm and perfect resignation, nay their joyous ecstasy at being martyred, was even more affecting by its pathos than their tragic fate. Such scenes were enacted throughout Aquitaine, in every town the Elect of God were tortured and martyred without mercy or discrimination. Their lot was indeed pitiable ; men already at the verge of the grave were hurried into it ; children in the first hours of life were rent in twain. No other nation has ever been persecuted with such bitter and unremitting continuity. But who says the men aud women of Chignon are dead ? They live to-day ! The hearts of the teeming ghettos of Europe beat in appreciative and emulous response to the heroic sentiments of their ancestors, triumphant even at the very hour of death. The Mellah, the Judengasse, has its heroes. Your sons, Oh Men of Chignon do not fear death ! Light the bloody pyres of Blois, rekindle the devouring flames of the Quemadero ! Every Polish village, every Russian hamlet will produce such martyrs to-day, that to them the heroes of history in every nation shall be but compeers. Within the breasts of the ragged Hebrew glazier, of the pale and emaciated machinist, of the contemned and unromantic Jew hawker, hooted and derided, hated and spat upon, beat the hearts of Israel's noblest scions. Would they pale before the dreadful ordeals which were the daily affliction of the mediaeval Jews ?

The misery experienced by the persecuted Hebrews during that period immediately following the holocausts of South France is beyond description or adequate analogy. Philip peremptorily banished many from the country appropriating their property to himself ; others he had mercilessly tortured without limit. Jews were in danger in the inmost chambers of their own houses which they generally barred. Some quaking with apprehension hid themselves in cellars for days together, gnawing their very clothing, so famished were they, yet not venturing to quit their dismal retreat. In Spain at this period a Christian could enter the house of any Jew or Moor and murder his wife and children before his very eyes at his own fireside, the father or husband being compelled to witness this in mute agony[1] ; but in France it was no uncommon thing to violently enter a Jewish house and mutilate or even amputate the limb of its owner, his age being of no avail and his entreaties falling useless upon savage ears.

Although the King had—even after the Aquitaine massacres—frequently and clearly expressed his clear conviction that the absolute innocence of the Jews on the charge of being accessory to the poisoning of the wells, fountains and rivers had been established, he yet convened the Parliament to punish them and ratified their decree, fining the few surviving congregations of South France a sum equal to £47,000. The few wealthy Jews, who outlived the massacres, were arrested and retained as sureties till the few impoverished communities had produced this huge sum. We may perhaps better realize the bitter sufferings the Jews were called upon to undergo when we remember that once wealthy Jews sold the clothing from their bodies to contribute to the payment of this fiendish extortion.

In 1322 Charles IV ascended the throne and as an act of especial clemency pardoned them for an offence they had not committed, as his predecessor had admitted. This monarch demanded and obtained under the fiercest threats £57,000 from the now beggared Israelites of Languedoc. In 1348 great sorrows befel the Hebrew race in every part of Christendom. The " Black Plague " which had with its awful hand hushed the strife of man and by its lethal breath swept away twenty-five millions of human beings ravaged almost every inhabited part of the world. Originating in China—under the name of the Asiatic plague—it travelled with horrible rapidity, leaving its blight of devastation and disease wherever it had once implanted itself. Its origin which is absolutely unknown was, with common consent, charged against the Jews. Good logic indeed ! they were dying in hourly

---

(1.) Robert Ingersoll, " Rome or Reason."

batches with all the agonies and sufferings symptomatic of the Plague, but that indisputable refutation of the diabolical lie did not stay their vilifiers, who were anxiously seeking for some outlet for their misery, some wretched people to vent their rage upon. Did not the Church[1] with indefatigable voice thunder forth that the Jews must be persecuted as the vilest sect of heretics? Was not this visitation of the Saints (the plague has been ascribed by large numbers of scientists to natural causes) on account of Christianity tolerating those who denied the character of Christ its head? These cogent arguments excited the people of every degree into the most incredible frenzy and when in some districts they saw numbers of Jews—owing to their abstemious conduct and pure temperate lives, combined with the loving care their sick received—recovering from the milder forms of the Plague, their anger knew no bounds, they were frantic. In addition to the fulminations of the priesthood, a body of the most ignorant and criminal men in Europe,[2] the belief was general and unquestioned in Christendom, that the Jews had in revenge for their sufferings by some magic or cabalistic process poisoned the air and thus vitiated every part of France; that they had poisoned the wells and rivers and that their tentative object was to destroy all the Christian people in the world. The most crude and absurd cock and bull stories of the methods they employed were sedulously circulated and eagerly believed. The Spanish communities had (so runs one of these ridiculous but deadly stories) sent boxes of the most awful poisons to the French Jews by means of accredited messengers. They were—it was given out—composed of the most startling ingredients, skins of basilisks (animals which never existed), Sacramental wafers, which the silly people invested with the most wonderful and miracle-working puissancy, that had been pounded in mortars or otherwise desecrated, hearts of Christian children ritually crucified, entrails of bats and lizards and

(1.) And what about the character of the men who taught this? "Infamies in the whole order." The Monks black and white, the deacons, the abbots. the bishops, the ordinary priests were noted for their spoiling of orphans, their swindling of widows and wards. Their gluttoning and drunkenness were chronicled in every township and were incapable of denial. Their dishonesty became proverbial. The simplest peasant on hearing of a scandalous action was in the habit of saying, "I would rather be a priest than be guilty of such a deed." White, "The Eighteen Christian Centuries," p. 284.

(2.) There were no studies exacted from a priest or prelate. All that was required was an inordinate zeal in the discovery of holy relics and an acquaintance with the unnumbered ceremonies performed in the celebration of the service. Morals were in as low a state as learning; debauchery, drunkenness and uncleanness were the universal characteristic both of Monk and Secular. Of theological tenets of knowledge of History either sacred or profane, the highest ecclesiastic was on the same level of utter ignorance and indifference with the lowest of his serfs. "Idem."

many other noxious components with which the greatest havoc might be wrought. Could anything be more stupid? yet the perverted people firmly believed that the prevalence of the plague was due solely to such compounds as these. Toledo was the principal seat of manufacture and export. Every movement of a Jew was, in consequence of these foolish tales, misrepresented, his most innocent remarks were made the subject of the most malicious and oblique exposition. Dearly had he to pay for these idiotic accusations, the few congregations that had survived the massacres of 1320 and 1321 were soon bathed in their blood.

Any trifling reference to the plague was, says Foote and Wheeler,[1] the signal for renewed outrages against the people of Israel, whose isolation and stricter dietary probably rendered them less susceptible to the disease. Many Jews were physicians and were accused of using their arts to destroy the Christians. As the plague spread through Europe the ferment against the hapless Jews became more widespread; they were accused of poisoning the wells, and bags of offensive matter were sometimes found in such places thrown there by Christians, who sought a pretext for plundering the hated Hebrews.[2] The same historians quote a German scholar, Hecker, who says, "The noble and mean bound themselves by an oath to extirpate the Jews by fire and sword and to snatch them from their protectors, of whom the number was so small that few places can be mentioned where they were not martyred and burnt.[3] On the 16th of May all the Jews of Basle, a by no means inconsiderable number, were seized, bound, and flung into an immense wicker cage expressly erected for the purpose and without even a parody of a trial or sentence, men, women with babes in their arms and children were remorselessly thrown into this box. Their valued writings, their venerated "Scrolls" were thrown in with them, also their phylacteries, praying shawls, and all their ritual accessories." This incident gives but a faint adumbration of what they were suffering in this year in Germany and Spain. As if by a tacit arrangement all the Christian countries of Europe unanimously persecuted the poor Jews till their wails and tears would have moved the Gorgons. What had they done? what was their crime? They had clung to one another through life with mournful and pathetic nidulancy; their gregarious actions had elicited the comment of their enemies. Through life they had led careers of the most unexampled virtue and eminent

(1.) In their powerful chapter of "Crimes of Christianity," "Persecution of the Jews."

(2.) We have shown how insipid their contention is.

(3.) Ibid.

piety, they had molested no one, they had worked for their wives and children, they had met every just demand upon them.[1] All they asked was to eat their bread in peace, to worship their God as their fathers had done and to bring up their children in their footsteps, and they only begged that they should not be dragged to the baptismal font or handed over to the monks.[2]

In 1360 the indigence of the country was so great and the dearth of commerce and sparsity of enterprise so grave, that negotiations had to be entered into for the return of the oft expelled, oft re-invited Jews. They were concluded on terms tolerably favourable to their interests; but they were compelled to pay an annual poll-tax of eight florins a head. To a special and fair-minded judge was relegated the duty of guarding them from those clerical and judicial injustices of which they had so warrantable a dread. They were however compelled to wear a distinguishing mark—a white piece of cloth in the shape of a wheel—even the Royal favourite, Manessier de Vesoul (the French Menassah ben Israel) was not exempted ; but this was purely a wise concession to the dark minded and bigoted clergy, who a few months previously had strangely enough urged their re-admission by law, though of course large numbers of Jews had resided in out of the way parts of the kingdom. It was their formal and legally recognized admission into Paris and the royal provinces that was mooted. The medical profession encouraged by the recognition of the clergy's claims upon the Jews vehemently denounced the Semitic doctors, protesting that they had passed no scientific examinations. The King had thereupon decreed that no Jew should practise medicine or surgery unless licensed by an examining body ; but the Church was to have no authority over them; this counterbalanced all the mildly persecuting enactments. The clergy had indeed displayed great malignity to them, they had in the earlier years of their re-settlement, effected their submission to the Law Courts, where the judges were invariably influenced by them, but through the indefatigable exertions of their patriotic representative, Vesoul, the Count d'Etampes was proclaimed permanent guardian of the Jews.

When the baffled clergy published an ecclesiastical ordinance which excommunicated all Christians, who furnished or even sold the Jews,

---

(1.) "In spite of the slanders of the learned and unlearned, the impartial investigator will find the Jews in their business relations rather above than below the level of common morality ; their faith in this, as in every other department, requiring of them an ideal purity." Dr. Herzfeld, "History of the Commerce of the Mediæval Jews."

(2.) This had grown so common that Pope Clement VI, at heart a humane man, published a decree excommunicating all forcible baptizers.

fire, water, bread or wine, the resolute governor of Languedoc—a province in which the clergy were particularly cantankerous—energetically made it known by counter ordinance that the most uncompromising justice would be inexorably meted out to any persons under his civil jurisdiction of whatever rank, who menaced the Jews or incited the people to violence against them. The next move the raging priesthood made was so skilfully arranged that it necessitated a general appeal to the Crown from all the Jews in the kingdom to nullify it. They (the clergy) clung tenaciously to the anti-Jewish decrees of the Lateran and various other Ecclesiastical Councils which forced them to listen to Christological Sermons thrice yearly. The then guardian of the Jews, the noble minded Marshal de'Audenham, however secured the revocation, or at least disregard of these nocent canons in 1368, the King making the unequivocal declaration, that they were not to be hampered or in any wise restricted in the exercise of their religious observances. Charles V found his Jewish subjects of such sterling utility in every groove of learning and commerce, that he, on his own initiative, added ten years to the period of residence already assured them, and at different times made other and smaller extensions of the term bringing up the entire time to about forty years. He himself had money dealings with his Jewish subjects borrowing large sums from them. On one occasion they gave him one thousand livres for a prolongation of their prearranged period of residence. This friendly King recognized the authority and confirmed the nomination of a Chief Rabbi, who was to have jurisdiction in penal causes as well as in civil and religious disputes. Manassier de Vesoul was still however regarded as the official and political representative of the Jews in France. His diplomatic skill and tact, his singular ability to successfully cope with every contingency, apart from his sterling personal worth, rendered him a most unquestionable acquisition to the French Jews, whom he served with the heart of a patriot and the brain of a statesman. It was his prompt wit and intuition that tided them over many difficulties. After the death of Charles, the Regent, Louis Duke of Anjou, whose interests for good or evil were marketable, governed the country and his Israelitish subjects were able to purchase a guaranteed immunity from attack. Vainly thinking themselves safe from the murderous onslaughts of the French rabble, in less than a month they learned how useless were the assurances of a monarch without the concurrence of his nobles.[1]

(1.) The power and contrast of the nobles proved a humiliating and dangerous contrast to the weakness of the throne; a combination of provincial dignitaries would at any time outweigh the authority of the king and sometimes even singly. The owners of extensive state threw off the very name of subject. Rev. Dr. White.

A period of great drought, poverty and depression had driven the country into a violent and morose state. The nobles owing to the disordered state of their domains suffered equally with their people and to add to the miseries that hung over them at this lugubrious period, all orders of society were heavily taxed by the avaricious and indigent Regent.

The Jews were blamed as the primal cause of all these inevitable abuses emanating from the Regent's maladministration ; everywhere the nobles harangued the people and loudly assured them, that everything would be set to rights if they would only demand their (the Jews) expulsion from France. To mark their explicit disapprobation of the race the people rose in arms (Nov. 16th, 1380), looted the house of Manessier, where the records of the debts of the nobles had been deposited for safety. They appropriated the accumulated securities, then murdered a few Jews and tore the children from the arms of the fleeing and weeping Jewish mothers in order to baptize them forthwith. A large number of the hunted victims were killed during their flight to the fortified chatelet. The Regent was furious, but his fury was of no avail, his orders to the depredators to make condign reparation was absolutely unheeded and might safely remain so in the existing tone of the national feeling against the Jews. Popular hatred had been wrought into too violent a fever for royal mandates to root out the hatred which took form in ever recurrent ebullition. The inefficacy of regal interposition however emphatically it might denounce high handed cruelty and outrage, is amply evidenced by the fact that within four months after the outburst just referred to (March 1st, 1381,) during the uprisings of the "Maillotins" throughout the entire country, they felled large numbers of Jews to the ground with their death-inflicting cumbrous wooden mallets, and lest they might have only been stunned slit their throats from ear to ear. They passed a very precarious existence for the next few years carrying their lives daily in their hands. The outrageous mulcts, by which they were continually condemned to furnish the king with large sums of money to carry on his belligerent policy, would be an undeniable reply to the senile charge of usury, which they were far from practising, as their monetary dealings were regulated by the different kings and the profits that were to accrue limited by law. Money lending was the only lucrative branch of business they were permitted to follow, the avocation of usury was absolutely forbidden them by State legislation and, as will readily be credited assiduously prohibited, by the Crown officials. No sentient being will believe that they committed excesses in a profession they did not follow, yet this indictment was being

constantly refurbished with new testimonies to add to the universal odium in which the Jews were held. When a renegade Jew who had chosen a short and summary manner of releasing himself from the restrictions imposed upon his co-religionists and apostatised to Christianity precipitately fled the country, it was sedulously given out that his co-religionists had induced him to go to Spain and effected his return to Judaism. Seven of the most influential Hebrews in Paris were seized and imprisoned pending the formation of a tribunal. The King had been coerced by the clergy into appointing a commission of the most fiercely bigoted and openly professed Jew-haters in the kingdom, the victims were placed on the rack-priestly rogation—and their limbs stretched; when in their unendurable agony they confessed everything that was asked of them, barely knowing to what they had affirmed. This anti-Semitic commission thereupon without hearing a word in their defence, or bearing in mind that they had been selected indiscriminately from among the richest members of the Jewish quarter, ordered them to be instantly burnt at the stake: but the King not desiring to proceed to such violent and bloody extremes commuted the sentence, which he had not the courage to altogether revoke, and decreed that they should be publicly scourged for three consecutive Sundays in each of the public cross roads of the city and then imprisoned as common felons until Denys Machault should of his own free will return. For this mitigation of the death sentence passed upon them by their judges they paid 18,000 frances. But the nation was not satisfied, the pliant monarch, who was in a most melancholy state of mind, was being constantly importuned by his confessor to banish the Jews. Their enemies at Court vigorously seconded the ever increasing efforts of this bigoted prelate, and accused the Jews of all manner of silly things, many of which were quite impossible. The puerile and credulous nature of these accusations eloquently mark the dense and dark ignorance of the period. The clergy pressed for their expulsion, the nobles held them as debtors, the people as fanatics, the queen was won over and the advice of those few wise counsellors, who represented the danger of depriving the country of the industry of such a thriving and laborious community was overborne by more stern advisers. On the 12th of September, 1394, the Day of Atonement, and a day specially chosen by their vindictive foes, as a fitting occasion to complete their humiliation, the fatal rescript was fulmined. The protracted and unflagging exertions of their foes had secured the triumph of their aims. All the Jews in France without distinction were to leave the country. Their residence there was inhibited for ever and this was to be entered upon the archives of the nation as a

wise and unalterable law. There was no ambiguity about this proclamation. The king having weighed in his own mind the comparative loss to his revenue, it was all over looked upon as a Christian act of faith, as a monarch dispossessing himself of his own accord of his most valuable source of income, thereby to serve the higher and more idealistic aims of religion and moral rectitude. The Jews were allowed to receive the debts due to them and to sell their properties. To our mind this monarch was not averse to the Jews on personal grounds, it was his vacillating and ductile mind, that could not resist the importunities of his advisers and favourites. As in the days of Philip le Bel, thirty days were granted them to settle all their affairs and leave the country. He at least took precautions to prevent their molestation or their being robbed on their journey and strictly adjured his officers to protect them from the violence of the mob, who imagined that they could harass and pillage them as they had done at the last expulsion ninety years before. No specific reason had been assigned by the King for his granting the royal sanction to so unjust a course, because none existed except the anger of the clergy at seeing a Catholic monarchy the willing shelter of infidels and the indebtedness of the nobles who had thought to relieve themselves of their justly incurred debts. Many of the provincial counts and barons openly represented to the Court their inability to dispense with their Jews. The Jews were never formally recalled, although numbers re-settled themselves at various times, gauging the temperament and influence of the several monarchs that succeeded to the crown, and having no country where they were less persecuted, risked being massacred by returning during the reigns of those sovereigns, who as they fondly hoped might on grounds of humanity or expediency ignore the edict of banishment. In some districts they were allowed to live unmolested, from others they were again driven, as from Lyons in 1446, where a substantial number seem to have re-settled, braving the risks of discovery.

On April 7th, 1475, a Capuchin named Bernardinus of Feltre, whose sermons (generally congruent with those of Capistrano and others of that ilk) represented the imperative necessity of using every method to persecute the Jews, set himself the gruesome task of emulating Amolo, who may be regarded as his prototype. After strenuous struggles in Italy, many of which however were abortive, he determined to wreak his fanatical hatred upon the Jews of Trent, whose re-settlement had in defiance of the Edict of Expulsion been tolerated by the sagacious authorities of that town. His plan was skilfully and adroitly laid. "Before Easter," said he, "the perfidy of the Jews and their diabolical doctrines will be laid bare to you." He had taken

steps to verify his vaticinations. The inhabitants of Trent on their part eagerly awaited the realization of the prophetic outbursts, which had been addressed to them by the occult seer. A lad named Simon had been drowned, but by some sinister means the body had been found in the cellar of a wealthy Jew. Knowing exactly what this portended, he hastily apprized the Bishop of the diocese of the significant incident. The cleric's remarks augured badly for the finder of the body, which was conveyed to the Church and treated with the greatest honours. Bernardinus, seeing his plans so successfully developing, arrived in the Church at the head of the clergy of the district and loudly clamoured for the immediate arrest, interrogation, and imprisonment of all the Jews in the town, men, women and children. This was ordered by the bishop, who seeing the value of Bernardinus' suggestions and the practicability of torture, placed a few on the rack and stretched them. Whilst they were in this agonized state of mind he fired off a whole fusilade of questions. The maddened Jews recognized a letter which never existed, purporting to emanate from Saxony and signed by a "Rabbi Moses," asking for a supply of Christian blood to celebrate the next Passover and harshly upbraiding the Trent Congregation for remissness in its despatch, they having voluntarily undertaken to supply him as heretofore with that ritualistic necessity. Whether the Jews of Trent had a monopoly in this valuable and indispensable commodity to the exclusion of all other congregations was not stated in this garrulous and sensational missive. One heroic man "Moses of Trent" endured the most excruciating agonies, shrieking in Hebrew for God to endow him with strength to bear his terrible agonies, but steadfastly refusing at each turn of the lever to corroborate the untruthful confession of his weaker brethren. The guilt of the Jews was considered to have been amply shown and the entire body was ignominiously thrust from the town. The after throes of the charge were of a wider range than the scene of its formulation. It went forth that the necessity of Christian blood for the Passover had been clearly proven and many were the Jews who answered with their lives for this base and monstrous falsehood, told by a revengeful heart and believed by a bigoted brain. Its far-reaching consequences were most apparent in Italy, where fortunately a heavy hand repressed any tendency to vent the public spleen upon the Israelite.

By 1615 so many seem to have resided in France, that a general degree of expulsion was again formulated. After this incident the anti-Jewish feeling appears to have grown less fierce and their presence is again testified to by their being the subject of legislation in the reign

of Louis XIII. This king departed from the policy of his immediate predecesors and not only gave them the right of temporary residence, but accorded them many privileges. In 1623 their rights were registered, as also the Crown concession of permission to take up residence in the country upon payment of 110,000 francs. They were to pay this sum at every fresh occupancy of the throne ; yet with all this they had many grievances that cried for redress ; their children were frequently stolen, baptized and handed over to the monasteries to be brought up in the tenets of the Christian faith. The old charges were again brought into play, and they were annoyed to such an extent that they found it necessary to appeal to the King for protection.

Louis XIV ordained that all Jews should pay a capitation grant of 2,000 francs annually for each family ; in return he granted them free commerce in all his dominions. Forcible baptisms and conversions were still however frequent.

Louis XVI treated them most graciously, he repealed the poll tax and several other odious laws and restrictions that figured in the French code ; but despite many concessions since 1550, the Jews of Alsace and other districts had to pay a toll at every gate as if they were so many dumb cattle, and their status was not much better than it had been during some of the Carlovingian reigns.

There now sprang up many adventitious friends of the Hebrews, men who admired their heroism and attachment to kin, and gave thought to the many cruel persecutions their race had willingly undergone in every land and clime. The sapient Malesherbes was chief of these ; he agitated for a consideration of their position and rights, as provided by the different sovereigns who had recalled them, with the result that in 1778 a Royal Commission—himself at its head—was appointed. They laid down the germs of Jewish freedom, but though they must be thanked for the inception and wide promulgation of the noble minded movement, it was the Revolution and the reign of Terror that accelerated the completion of their beneficent intentions, because when so much was being done for human liberty, for once the Jew was not to be calmly overlooked, as if outside the pale of human commiseration. So we see that in England the time of the Magna Charta agitation, that has been so praised, was one of unmitigated injustice to the Jews, whilst in France the Revolutionary movement, initiated to relieve the French from the very identical evils, that have been so loudly condemned, gave a thought to their Jewish fellow-countrymen. But it is a feature of Jewish history that many of those kings and rulers who are held up to the greatest and most universal opprobium have often in singular contradiction to their own character

dealt justly to the Jews under their rule, whilst those who have been held up as paragons of virtue for emulation have been their most uncompromising foes. Instances of the former are Nero, Pedro the Cruel, Ivan the Terrible, and numbers of others, and of the latter are Constantine the Great, Louis IX, Richard I, Alfonso the Wise, and many more.

What the humanistic Malesherbes had commenced was well developed by that great friend of the human race, Mirabeau, in conjunction with a tolerant and liberal minded cleric L. Abbe Gregoire. But it must not be imagined that the entire course of the Revolution was one of smoothness and equable nature to the Jews, for in some parts of France deeds of oppression seemed inseparable from the march of progress. During the reign of terror when violent means to suppress religion were in many parts of the country being employed by the more radical of the Revolutionists, the Jews did not escape annoyance in several towns, and though befriended as a race they were persecuted as a creed. At Nancy the synagogue was entered by force and wrecked; the "Scrolls of the Law" were dragged from the Ark and after being torn into shreds were amid shrieks of derisive laughter thrown into a hastily improvised bonfire.

The members of this congregation were ordered to—in compliance with the decision of the City Council—attend service at the Temple of Reason (a building where a ribald and coarse prostitute was publicly worshipped) and bring with them their entire ritual apparatus to be burned. The Municipal Councils of many towns ordered the Jews to open their shops and stand in the markets on Saturdays.

On the High Festivals, city officials would often peremptorily command Jewish agriculturists to mop, reap or perform other manual labours. Rabbis and Bishops were imprisoned alike, it being erroneously thought that in the absence of the clergy the laity would be easily coerced.

During the incipient period of the Revolution no thought was given to the Jews, but their urgent representations showed that as late as August, 1789, the inhabitants of Alsace had without the slightest provocation made an organized attack upon the Hebrew quarter of that city inflicting additional misery upon that already bitterly oppressed community. The humane and free spirited Abbe Gregoire, one whom we must count among the noblest of the Jews' supporters, seized with alacrity this splendid opportunity of urging the official recognition of the Jews which so opportunely presented itself. Many times freedom was within their grasp, but the dilatoriness of the legislative body discouraged them. Cerf Berr the great Jewish patriot had induced

M. Dupont to press their case upon the attention of the National Assembly and obtain them at least redress for their more immediate grievances, but the marplot Jew-haters induced many purblind deputies to tire the Jews by constantly deferring the consideration of their case, assuring them that if this was done the "Jewish importunites" would cease altogether. They at last however triumphed and were recognized as citizens of France, permitted the free exercise of their particular form of religion and relieved from all disabilities and specific legislation, no longer to be legislated for as other than sons of France. The succeeding events are modern history to all. France has not waned in prestige or lost in interest through removing the stigmata that for so many centuries had held the Jews up to opprobium. She has recognized that she numbers them among her most loyal and devoted sons. The Hebrew race also is proud of its French members. Their lives are irrefutable proofs that the consistent Israelite can be a patriot and lover of his adopted country. France has not been remiss in rewarding her Jews. In the vanguard of her Science, among the first promoters of her Literature and her greatest savants, among her most liberal philanthropists and her wisest scholars are the French Jews to be found. She has been guided by the counsel of Jewish Statesmen, her armies have been led to victory by Jewish Generals, her Navy commanded by Jewish Admirals, her honour among the nations of Europe has been entrusted into the hands of Jewish Diplomatists, her State finances have been regulated by Jewish Financiers ; in each department of life, in every task high or humble entrusted to them they have faithfully done their duty as becomes those honoured by a nation's confidence. They have shown themselves to be true to race and true to land—faithful Sons of Israel, faithful Sons of France, true Jews, true Frenchmen.

CHAPTER III.

Germany and the Jews.

"High above in Heaven's regions,
Far and wide in Halls of Learning,
And where people meet together
Be my sacrifices published:
How my tender infants perished,
How their tortures laid me prostrate;
Learn to know their deeds of horror—
We were crushed and rent asunder,
Until corpse by corpse lay buried."

"*Selicha*," *cited by Dr. Zunz.*

ALL nations and all peoples have, with varying asperity, persecuted the Hebrew race and fulfilled the pious duty of confirming prophecy. The fairest spots, the most serene scenes, have been swamped with the blood of the Jews, and as if nature must have her counterpart in mankind, the most heroic knights and princes, the most gallant warriors and patriots have, by some hideous stroke of irony, wrung and wronged the Jew with the most obdurate and remorseless inflexibility. Under the stern old Roman Emperors, they experienced many and strange vicissitudes. In one reign courted and honoured, in the next spurned and contemned. The European monarchs have, in the main clung with lethal pertinacity to the policy of Caligula and persecuted them, yet they have always been allowed a moment, a transient period, to resuscitate themselves after any of the numberless anti-Jewish excesses with which mediæval history is disfigured. Germany has taken exception to this tacit international understanding. Since Israelitish communities first settled there in any large number until the present hour a period of absolute and continual peace has been unknown to them; for if the rack and stake are no longer accessible, the press and platform form the bivouac of the anti-Semitic faction, which is daily ramifying itself throughout the Empire. Let us together review Judæo-German History, or rather take a fleeting

glance at the sorrows of the Jews on German soil. We shall see that more Jews have been murdered in one decade, than in a century of Autos da fe, and we shall also see that the repetition of these events is only restrained by the cyclopean potentiality of German law. Prussia has her embryo "Rindfleisch's" and "Hoogstraten's," but their nimbiferous denunciations of the Jews are prevented by the law from culminating in the desired deeds of violence. It is indeed lamentable and an eloquent testimony to the poor Jews' unfair treatment, that the home of "Lessing," of "Schiller," of "Kant," of "Dohm," and myriads of other ultra-humane writers, who have shed lustre upon learning and humanistic philosophy should have been whimsically selected by fate for the Jewish "Phlegethon," for Germany was a veritable purgatory to them in the Middle Ages. Is it not one of those inexplicable vagaries of fortune, that the land, from which the very crux of modern Philosophy has gone forth, the land from whence millions of the people were first liberated from all the misfortunes of abject Pontifical slavery, should have hounded to death hundreds of thousands of her most industrious subjects and drenched history with their blood, because the popular outcry and the priest-manipulated voice of the people demanded the persecution of faithful children who sought to perpetuate the creed for which their fathers had lived and died? The mediæval Germans loathed the Jews as the personal enemies of their Saviour and sought to visit upon one generation the actions of another, no doubt desiring to verify the injunction of St. Fulgentius. who said "It is not lawful for a Christian to seek to be revenged." But we will proceed with our task.

The mad Crusades that drenched Europe in blood was the inception of the organized massacres of Jews that abound in German history. Hitherto they had been rare and sporadic. The wild warriors of the Cross, raging against all infidels, hated the Hebrew race and creed with the most indescribable fury. It was reserved for these heartless monsters to saturate Germany with the blood of the Jews. To find an age or instance comparable to those of the Crusades for Israelitish misery, we must revert to the siege and conquest of Jerusalem by Titus. The Jews, says Gibbon, had not felt a bloodier stroke since the days of Hadrian. In 1096 when the first Crusaders were about to set out on their romantic expedition, a monk arose and in most impassioned and virulent language harangued them. "You arm yourselves," he said "and go forth to slay the infidel Saracen, but you leave behind you greater infidels unmolested. You clamour to destroy those who do not worship Christ or believe in his Holy Saints, but you spare those who actually deny both. Root out the enemies of

God, the accursed Jews, then Mary will prosper you and give you the tomb of her son." Convinced by the crude logic of this fierce Churchman of the inutility of searching for the Turks, while the Jews were so much nearer at hand, a vast number of the colossal horde, which had assembled in Germany, banded themselves together to execute the inhuman behests of their savage and gesticulating admonitor. They selected as their leader one of their most despicable members, whose merciless outrages on the surrounding villages and peasants were invaluable credentials to the post, "William the Carpenter." They then inaugurated, after a long and thorough Jew hunt, the bloodiest epoch in mediæval Jewish History. Their first serious move was to surround Treves—a city possessing a large and ultra-orthodox Hebrew community. Its members were agonized with dread. The doomed men were fully cognizant of the bloody price they would be called upon to pay for their cohesion to their faith. They assembled in their beautiful synagogues, fasted and implored the God (for Whose Honour they swore if necessary to die) of their fathers to protect them. The scene was most heart-rending. Hoary and decrepit old men of patriarchal mien, men whose lives had been spent in prayer and study, and in the perusal of the Talmud and Holy Writings, men who had lived lives of unsullied and unsmirched integrity, and now when on the verge of death, at the very brink of the grave, their courage did not fail them, but they earnestly exhorted their younger brethren to make every sacrifice necessary rather than tarnish the name of Jew. Others in the full prime and virility of manhood, when the vigour of health makes life doubly precious. Life was dear to them but they were "Jews," they were the descendants of the Holy Decemvirate of Patriots, who were by order of Turnus Rufus rent limb from limb and flayed alive as they stoutly refused to desert Judaism. They were the children of Rabbi Akiva, and of Rabbi Chanina Ben Teradyon. Women, "Women of Israel," imbued the men with patriotic fire and did not quail. Children also already possessed the innate heroism of the race —nascent heroes. Truly a noble assembly—all solemnly pledged themselves before the "Holy Ark" to die for Israel's honour. As the cruel Crusaders offered them the alternative to death, and the gleam of their awful weapons and the lupine tones of their voices heralded their relentless purpose, then did they equal the heroes of Blois; mothers seized daggers and plunged them into their daughter's breasts to prevent their violation by the consecrated soldiers of Christ. Maidens of tender age and entrancing beauty fastened heavy stones to their apparel and flung themselves into the sea, such was the terror with which dishonour filled them, such their irrepressible repugnance to

baptism. Some who were dragged out of the water by the pilgrims stabbed themselves on recovering consciousness. Many aged fathers drew the knife across their wives' and sons' throats rather than they should be violently converted. Many indeed were the "Abrahams" who uncommanded offered up their firstborn upon the altar of patriotism, many indeed the willing "Isaacs" who willingly emulated their prototype ; but now alas none intervened, for every Jewish home was a Mount Moriah. Yet a few of the weaker spirits—very few indeed when compared to the immense number that remained unmoved—wavered and ran for succour to the Bishop Enghilbert. "Wretches," said he, "your well merited punishment for rejecting Mary the Holy Mother of God and her blessed Son has at last fallen upon you. You yourselves destroy your bodies and souls for ever." But for this handful of vacillating members, who in the terror of the moment feigned to accept Christianity and were therefore protected by the Bishop, the entire community of Treves fell as Martyrs, for the Crusaders with savage shrieks of horrid ferocity rushed upon those who were willing to die but dared not take their own lives ; and slaying, burning, violating, strangling, pillaging and destroying, the Soldiers of Christ soon blotted out this ancient community. The people arming themselves assisted the Crusaders in their frightful work.[1]

The Crusaders passed on to Spiers ; here the most heartrending scenes were witnessed. The Jews, who had documentary assurances of liberty from the Emperor, were invited by the Crusaders to accept Christianity ; they however firmly refused, even declining to consider. "This religion," said they, "neither fire, nor water, nor the sword, nor torture shall draw us from it." The agony of distraught men, the misery and the tears of distracted women elicited no sympathy. In the stern and unerring lights of history and humanity we see the Knights and Crusaders. The name would cover with eternal disgrace and infamy the most ferocious savage that crouches in a jungle or roams across the wilds of Africa. Brave men indeed ! If the heartless murder of prattling children in the very arms of their parents, if

---

(1.) The people had no sooner arms in their hands then they turned them against their first enemies according to the new code of Christ and of the Church :—the unfortunate Jew. The frightful massacre of this race in all the flourishing cities of Germany and along the Rhine by the Soldiers of the Cross seemed no less justifiable and meritorious than the subjugation of the more remote enemies of the Gospel. Why this fine discrimination between one class of unbelievers and another ? shall zeal presume to draw distinctions between the wicked foes of the Church ? the Crusaders would not go in search of foreign foes of the gospel and leave in their homes men equally hateful, equally obstinate, equally designated for perdition in this world and the next.
"*History of Latin Christianity*," *Vol. IV. p.* 20.

the open violation and slaughter of innocent girls, if the burning of innocent men and women, if the trampling under horses' hoofs or the flinging from high walls of harmless grey-headed old men constitute bravery or nobility, then we with unhesitating and unwavering conviction claim that the Crusaders were the bravest, the noblest men history has ever known. A fortunate few of the Spiers' Jews, whose worldly endowments prompted the godly bishop, Allebrandus, to shelter them, outlived the awful day of the slaughter, but the bulk of the community (a community which possessed State documents purchased at enormous cost and only recently ratified assuring them of immunity of attack) were left to the mercy of the Knights of the Cross. Bravely did they defend themselves, desperately did they fight, but what is the power of an insignificant handful against an armed and armoured host, skilled by long practice in the lambent art of spilling human blood. The desperate courage and resistance displayed by the Jews only tended to further exasperate their ruthless foes, but at last from sheer exhaustion they ceased to defend themselves and fell to a man (Sunday Iyar 23rd. May 18th. 1096) under the death-blows of their conquerors. The murderers were searching for trophies of war and amid the bloody scenes of cowardice and martyrdom, there rang the death cry, the "Shemah" from every Jewish lip. They died repeating with their last gasp of breath those sacred words which form the fraternal bond, the "Kismet" of the Hebrew race wherever dispersed, that sacred sentence which links the Jews one to another, despite nationality, colour, clime, costume or language. Had the inhabitants of Morocco attacked the Jews in their crowded Mellahs instead of the Crusaders the Judengasse, had the wild Asiatic hordes or the fierce Kurds rushed upon the scattered Jewish communities in their dusky territories, had the swarthy Mohammedans or the gaberdined Italian mobs slaughtered the dispersed children of Melpomene, had the fierce Arab fallen upon the Jews beneath the tall palm trees of Araby, or the passionate Spaniards upon the pious Castilian communities, had the leering Mongol fallen upon the Hebrew clans in China or the wild African savage upon the Abysinnian congregations, the same grand confessions of faith would have accompanied their dying gasp. Amid the frightful scenes of dead, dying and wounded, no groan, no lament, no reproach, was heard against cruel destiny ; with their escaping breath there rang from every throat, "Hear O Israel, The Lord is our God, The Lord is one." Agonized fathers stood firmly over their maimed children, who repeated after them with lisping innocence word by word this doctrine of Judaism, till their souls left their mortal and afflicted clay and were wafted aloft

by the sweetest zephyrs to "Him" for Whose Law they had died. All the Jews discovered having been massacred, they proceeded to their synagogues and "Houses of Learning," the scenes of so much Jewish devotion, and having desecrated the "Scrolls of the Law" and the Holy Books proceeded to burn the places of worship amid the unrestrained delight and joyful exclamations of the spectators, who thronged to the scene as if to a tournament. They saw before them the inevitable and condign punishment of disbelief and obduracy. After the lapse of eight days the mob, furious at being baffled by the Bishop secreting them in his palace, demanded their surrender. Their wily protector, who had sought to effect their conversion by the circumambient process of loudly demonstrating his Christian love in withholding them from the Crusaders, formally asked them to submit to baptism or accept the only possible issue of their foolhardy and maudlin obstinacy. The poor Jews, who now found that they had only been sheltered for the furtherance of ulterior and sinister motives, were forcibly disarmed upon their refusal to receive Christ and placed outside the gates of the episcopal palace. Many of them disappointed their enemies by seeking voluntary death at each other's hands, preferring thus to die like heroes than to be slaughtered like lambs by the fierce Crusaders, and ere the savage troops and populace surrounded them they lay senseless and weltering in their life's blood. The remainder were seized and dragged head downwards through the streets and then stunned and bleeding, borne into the church. When they recovered their senses, they were brought before the despised font and offered life for baptism or death for obstinacy. With the halberd already at their breasts and the knife pressing against their throats, a small number feigned a belief in Christianity. That their new belief was simulated was clear even to their persecutors. The vast number of the Jews however—practically the whole body—remained unmoved and preserved their ever unswerving constancy to their martyred race. They were quickly slaughtered in cold blood. Simcha Cohen, a noble-minded lad, who had seen his father and seven of his brothers murdered before his terriffied eyes, thirsted for vengeance and quickly bethought himself of a plan. He professed a belief in Christianity and was led to the baptismal font. There before the impressive array of bishop, priests and other Church dignitaries, clad in the most sumptuous garments, stood the trembling Jewish lad, repeating with his mouth what his heart stamped as perjury, but he was seeking revenge though cognisant of the consequences. As the sacrament was about to be administered, he suddenly drew forth from the folds of his blood-stained garments a gleaming knife and before any one could

perceive, much less circumvent, his purpose, buried it deep in the heart of the Bishop's "Nephew," (an old Catholic euphenism for son,) who had gloated over the tortures heaped upon the Jews. He was immediately hewed down by a score of axes and his body flung into the street already thick with the unburied corpses of murdered Israelites. Eight hundred martyrs unrecognizably battered, mutilated, and stripped naked were buried after the departure of the Crusaders to the next Jewish town.

On Sivan 2nd, (May 26th, 1096,) the community at Worms—one of the oldest and noblest in Europe—discovered that they were encompassed by the Crusaders ; the terms by which they might save their lives were quickly made known to them ; they were to accept Christianity and live unmolested even protected, or if they rejected the offer they were to be butchered like their brethren in Treves and Spiers without mercy. With that indescribable joy do we recount their answer and verify the anticipations the reader has doubtless formed. Not one accepted the offer, to a man they decided to die. They spat the Crusaders in the face and asked them to hasten with their bloody work. Numbers were slaughtered, numbers died at each other's hands. The bridegroom killed his bride, the mother cast her babe into the flames, the father killed his daughter saying that it was better that she should go to the bosom of Abraham than be defiled by the Crusaders. The dying confession of the martyrs was, " Our Lord is One " and all was over. Does not the Jew's heart beat with joy, does not his breast swell with pride ? for he is proud that he is of the nation that is first in the martyrology of the world. He may hold advanced opinions, as a writer has aptly said, he may question the utility of rabbinic legislature formulated in different times and under other conditions ; but that is the theological Jew ; it is of the national Jew that we speak. Let the reader therefore not be surprised when we claim all Judaism to beat with one heart and to be actuated with one impulse. They blotted out this community centuries old, to a man, not sparing grey hairs, women's tears, or children's shrieks.

Afterthis unrelenting massacre they were not glutted, but proceeded to Mayence, an ancient and flourishing community. This it was predetermined to entrap by stratagem and thus have at hand every Jewish soul in the city, young and old, rich and poor, all without distinction, and then should they refuse to abandon Judaism, massacre them promiscously. The conspirators were the Archhishop of Mayence, Ruthard, and his sanguinary brother Count Emmerich. These two depraved and bloody minded men made a clandestine conspiracy to effect this end. As soon as the Crusaders entered the town, the arch-prelate

asked the guileless and trembling Jews to the number of nearly 1400 to hide themselves in the vaults of his palace until the Crusaders had left the town and the fanaticism of their auxiliaries, the inhabitants, had subsided. They unwittingly accepted this offer with the deepest and most sincere protestations of undying gratitude. Praying to their God, fasting and weeping, they crouched in dread in the vast cellars and subterranean passages anxiously awaiting the departure of the Pilgrims. This alas, my poor ancestors you were not ordained to see! The Archbishop's brother surrounded the palace with a most powerful and impenetrable guard, giving them however secret instructions not to impede the entry of the besiegers by raising a single finger in defence of the imprisoned Jews who lay huddled together in the cellars. Apprising the guard of his ruse, the knight brother now fulfilled his part of the contract by placing himself at the head of the Crusaders and demanding the instant surrender of the infidel inmates; this was unnecessary. Emmerich, who had played his part to perfection, entered with his followers and there, within that beautiful palace and amid gilded porches and panelled walls were committed atrocities at the recital of which the most hardened would pale; deeds so revolting, that even those inured from childhood to scenes of blood and carnage would shudder. Let it suffice when we say that the allies of Titus, the wild Vangioni, never dreamt of such deeds. Fathers were seen to pass the blade across the throats of their infant children to save them from the more horrible fate of becoming Christians, mothers to stab their daughters and thus deliver them from the sensual embraces of their foes, stalwart sons were the executioners of their own parents, men's hands were dabbled in the blood of their younger brothers and sisters. Awful indeed were the scenes within the grim cellars of the palace on this fateful Tuesday, 3rd Sivan, (May 27th), 1096. Over four hundred hapless beings met death at each other's hands, whilst nearly one thousand were most cruelly mangled, burned and mutilated to death with maddening agony. A forlorn hope of sixty souls who some days before had distrusted the Archbishop and immured themselves in the vault of a church were dragged to light and asked to discard their creed or die. Fifty-six instantly and unhesitatingly chose to die. It is of the remaining four that we cite a most pathetic passage from "Graetz."

"Two men and two little girls, Uriah and Isaac with his two daughters were induced by fear to accept baptism, and truly their repentance drove them to a heroic but terrible deed. Isaac killed his two daughters on the eve of Pentecost in his own house and then set

fire to the dwelling ; then he and his friend Uriah went to the Synagogue, set fire to it and died in the flames."[1]

Another body of Crusaders entered Cologne. The congregation in that town had been established by Roman Jews long before Christianity had existed, yet this town was to become the theatre of one of the most painful events in a history already possessing such a surfeit of tragedy. The Jews quickly prepared themselves for the worst : the innocent community assembled in their synagogues, clad in the white garments worn on the Day of Atonement. Their prayers, their moans, their floods of tears rent the air. The parents blessed their children in the ancient Hebrew formula ; the children vainly attempted to assuage the heartrending grief of their parents. Alas, Jewish brother ! I fear to further describe the scene. Let the Christian reader imagine that his loved ones, his parents, his children, are to be murdered and violated before his eyes, and that he is powerless and compelled to witness it ; he can then draw himself a picture of this scene. The oldest and most revered congregation in Germany, perhaps in Europe, were preparing themselves for voluntary martyrdom. But, oh, undreamt of joy ! their wildest and most extravagant phantasies never led them to imagine, their loudest and most profuse thankfulness to realize, that they were not to die. The burghers of Cologne, indurated as they were to scenes of horror, paused before permitting the cruel consummation of the besiegers' flagrant intentions. They, with the consent of their humane Bishop, Hermann, of blessed memory, hid the Jews in their houses, and when, on the first day of the Feast of Weeks, Sivan 6th, (May 30th.) 1096, the maddened Crusaders burst into the Jewish quarter, howling for Jewish blood with eyes inflamed with fanatical fury and tongues literally hanging out of their mouths, they found it empty ; with two solitary exceptions every soul had fled. One fiery old Jew thirsted for the glory of falling a Hebrew martyr. All his life he had prayed and fasted to be afforded an opportunity to add one small laurel to Judah's heavy and tear-laden crown of martyrdom. Rabbi Isaac was now about to see his life's wish fulfilled and should he fly ? should he fear ? His co-religionists implored their venerated teacher to come to the wide haven of rescue so providently opened to them. He refused to hear the entreaties of the Jews and their Gentile protector alike. The holy man quietly assuming his phylacteries, engaged in his morning prayer and impatiently awaited what all knew was inevitable. At last the fierce bandits surged around him and momentarily restrained the fury they felt when they saw him so placid, but when they learned that humanity had for once

(1.) "History of the Jews." Vol. III. p. 310.

thwarted spiritual zeal, they disregarded his bent form and wrinkled face and dragged him with cruel violence into a distant church where they in voices of thunder held up the crucifix and demanded that he should prostrate himself to it or at least kiss it. Rabbi Isaac spat upon it and, instantly repeating the "Shemah," was beheaded on the spot by the sword of the nearest Crusader. So perished one whose memory will for ever live in the hearts of all true Jewish patriots.

Not a congregation within their reach did the inflexible Crusaders spare.[1] A community might have existed for centuries, it might have seen dynasty after dynasty, Kings crowned and dis-enthroned, Monarchs born and been the first to congratulate them on their coronation ; it may have seen their royal oppressors flourish, then fade and die. It might have deluded itself that at the hands of a successor they might obtain amelioration. In one short day it was wiped out of history, and the few crowded streets in which generation after geneneration of men had lived, hoped, pined and died, was a wreck of masonry piled with mangled corpses. "The Rhine," says an eminent historian, was thick with the corpses of murdered Jews. All the cities of the Danube, of Austria and Hungary resounded with the cries and swam with the blood of Jews, the vast number of them scornfully rejecting all terms fairly spitting and cursing the images and crucifixes held up to them for idolatrous adoration. "The Lord is our God" was in one their answer and their dying utterance for they were immediately hacked to pieces or severed piece-meal. Sad indeed is the story of the Jews, breathing in one the most frightful horrors and the most unflinching heroism. Baulked in Cologne the ignoble troop continued their Jew hunt in quest of further prey. Town after town was visited and the same scenes of blood repeated. Jews were ripped open, disembowelled alive, torn asunder by wild horses driven in opposite directions, their flesh scraped off their bones, sawn in halves head

(1.) "The rear of the Crusaders was pressed by a herd of two hundred thousand, the most stupid and savage refuse of the people, who mingled with their devotion a brutal license of rapine, prostitution and drunkenness. Of these, and of other hodes of enthusiasts, the first and most easy warfare was against the Jews, the murderers of the "Son of God." In the trading cities of the Rhine and the Moselle their colonies were numerous and rich and they enjoyed under the protection of the Emperors and the Bishops, the free exercise of their religion. At Verdun, Treves, Mentz, Spiers, Worms, many thousands of that unhappy people were pillaged and massacred. Nor had they felt a more bloody stroke since the persecution of Hadrian. A remnant was saved by the firmness of the Bishops, who accepted a feigned and transient conversion ; but the more obstinate Jews opposed their fanaticism to the fanaticism of the Christians, barricaded their houses and precipitating themselves, their families, and their wealth into the rivers or the flames, disappointed the malice, or at least the avarice of their implacable foes." Gibbon, "Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire," Vol. VIII, pages 104 and 108.

downwards, cast into immense cauldrons of boiling oil, their teeth dragged out one after another till brilliant men became raving maniacs through unendurable agony, yet they were not recreant to the sacred trust confided in them by their ancestors.

Who dare say the Jew is not brave, not noble, that Judah is not the most heroic of nations and in patient resignation, endurance and unflinching courage a pattern for all peoples? If such be the voice of mankind I oppugn the opinion of the whole world and maintain with unwavering firmness that they are wrong. Enter into the lists of glory, ye historians of nations, tilt with me the Jew in the joust of fame, ye chroniclers of heroes. I defy you all to emerge successfully, yet I court your comparison. You scions of illustrious houses, show me old bishops calmly dying at the stake; I show you little children begging for martyrdom, athirst to further glorify Hebrew records. You show me armour clad knights or belted and spurred cavaliers or brave old veterans, who spent their lives on the field of glory, who died sword in hand, nation in heart, fighting gallantly for the honour and freedom of their fatherland; I point to white-haired old veterans who never saw the field of battle or heard the din of war, to patriots who died for their nation, yet knew not how to wield a sword, who knew nothing of war. Their aim was not to avenge their people's wrongs nor was the open plain the theatre of their nobleness of soul. Their aim was to mitigate the sufferings of their brethren, to die for the unsullied prestige of their race, the scene of their everlasting glory and expiring moments was the synagogue and the "House of Learning." You tell me of your women, Oh patriots and historians! who were expatriated, who suffered quietly the most shameful indignities, who died for honour, pride and repute, I contrast them with the timorous Jewish maidens, tender, young and beautiful, who defied the Leviathan of persecution, Torquemada himself, who unassuming and modest were roused into very Deborahs and Judiths when asked to recant. Will you argue, oh Christian? dare you beard me? shall we set Isaac Tartas against Laud or Cranmer, Gonzalo Baez against Wycliffe or Ridley, Leona de Vibero against Joan of Arc, as noble martyrs and allow the world to tell which was noblest? Truly when the Jew unfolds Israel's scroll of fame, when he ponders over the mighty exploits of his fathers, how they walked to the tomb with a light and joyful tread, greeted death with a song and torture with a smile, when he thinks of their courage not in the field of action, not in martial exploits, but on the martyr's pyre and in the synagogue, when he remembers that they met death not in burnished and crested helms, in shining mail and armour, not in steel corslet and impenet-

rable chain, but in Talisim and Tephillin, that their war cry or rather word of defiance was not Mighty Rood, or St. Jago and Victory, but "Hear Oh Israel," he has indeed ample cause for pride and joy. Rome in the past has vaunted of her sons, but now she must be silent before Judah.

When the Crusaders reached Neus (Tamus 1st, June 26th, 1096), the Jewish community had prayed and fasted in the synagogue for two whole days in the hope of atoning for some sin they thought they must have committed, in reality their very foes tells us that they had led lives of blameless and unsmirched honour, of virtue and kindness, of sympathy for the suffering and forgiveness to their tormentors. Alas! the innocent doves were pounced upon by the screeching vultures, for no other reason than that they were the seed of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob. The monks in the camp heard confessions and offered each Crusader the right to release a certain number of souls from purgatory for every Jew he murdered. The obedient auditors fortified by their exhorter's fervent words, devotedly crossed themselves, heard Mass, received the Sacrament and Benediction and prepared for the morrow's work of the extirpation of heretics. Of the gross, corrupt and irreligious character of the Crusaders I have said enough; of the character of the German Jews, honest, truthful and upright, I have also spoken; then imagine these foul and licentious men prescribing what was the right form of religion to men whom they could never soar high enough to emulate. Rabbi Samuel Ben Asher, the great Talmudic commentator, a man who merits a place of honour in the Pantheon, assembled the Neus' Jews in their synagogue and harangued them with all the fervour of an Israelitish patriot. Oh joy! to a soul they approached the Ark and then and there pledged themselves to give up their lives now reclaimed, and rejecting the price of freedom died. In some few towns a determined and desperate resistance was made; the Jews never sought distinction in the battle field, but when their repute was at stake, or the lives of their dear ones, they were never wanting in courage.

The Crusaders after much searching found a clue to the refuge of the Jews of Cologne and sought them out in their hiding places. Many in the agony of terror had ended their lives in the lakes and bogs. A learned man, Samuel ben Zechiel, set an example to the others; he killed his young son in the water and pronounced a benediction to which the lad said "Amen"; the lookers-on pronounced the words "Hear O Israel" and threw themselves into the water.

The massacres were as I have said, not confined to Germany; Bohemia also was stained with blood. Wherever a Jewish community was found it was blotted out of existence.

An obsidional onslaught was made upon Ratisbon where the Jews were grievously outraged. Wherever the corpse of a murdered Hebrew was found, it was insulted, paraded through the town, or otherwise treated with contumely ; whenever a living Jew was found his life was demanded.

In Prague hundreds of Jews were seized and dragged to the churches, where they were forcibly baptized by being violently immersed. Wratislav the Bohemian ruler summoned all the wealthy Jews in the country together and said "You brought none of Jerusalem's treasures to Bohemia ; Vespasian cast you penniless over the globe. You entered Bohemia naked ; so you must leave it."[1] He then gave his officials orders to plunder them forthwith.

On, on, went the Crusaders like a bloody avalanche, like a sirocco of death, marking its unimpeded course in the blood of the seed of Abraham of whom God had said "In thee shall all the nations of the earth be blessed," on it passed, disregarding age, or sex, or infirmity, on passed the corps of executioners imbruing their hands in the blood of my ancestors, on alike to cruentate the history of Europe with the gore of defenceless and inoffensive men and to write in letters of imperishable brilliancy the story of Judah's glory.

Sleep on ye martyrs of Germany. Your sons are proud of your radiancy in the glittering crown of Israel's fame. Your effulgency lights up to them paths of intricate darkness. In Russia and Roumania to-day by that touch they—your persecuted children—grope through the tortuous mazes of their bitter life. The gleam of your seeds renders sufferable to them the greatest sorrows, for your memories are for ever green. Who says you sleep ? you live ! you will ever live in the memory of Israel. Eight hundred years have elapsed since the veil of terrestrial life was drawn over your clay, since you surrendered back without a murmur your undefiled ghosts ; but in 800 years more the lamp of Israel's love for her fathers will burn with equal luminancy. Let Christianity boast of her children, let Rome vaunt of her heroes, and Greece point to her roll of patriots. The Jew outshines them all, he impugns the claim of any nation or race to equal the deeds of his ancestors. Beyond all possibility of human denial he claims for them the highest pedestal of glory, for were there a tower of honour the word "Hebrew" would be emblazoned on its highest pennon ; for is there a cup of sorrow and tribulation ? Israel has drunk thereof most deeply of all mankind.

When the Crusaders entered Jerusalem they massacred all the Jews who had not hidden themselves. Their horses waded through blood

(1.) Graetz, Vol. III, p. 312.

reaching up to their saddle girths. They then set out in search of the remaining Jews, whom they drove into the largest synagogue and having barred the doors and trampled on the sacred scrolls set fire to the building and burned every soul in it, July 15th, 1099.

All these horrors were but the achievements of the First Crusade ; the second heaped additional miseries upon the Jews. Rudolf, a fanatical monk, who had first been a man of the most profligate character, escaped from his cell and preached death to all infidels and deniers of Christ. He was possessed of an unsurpassed and most impassioned eloquence, he understood harangue and rhetoric and knew well, how, by acrimonious illusions, theological asperity and foul accusations, to fan antipathy to the Jews, into the most irrepressible fury. Crucifix in hand he travelled on his inhuman mission, inciting the inhabitants to murder the unbelieving Jews, who vilified the Saints and blasphemed the sacred wafer. It was an awful time for the German Jews. It was then that a Jew of Treves, who on account of his pious and upright life, was called Simon the Pious, was seized on the quay side just as he was embarking for Cologne. Placed in manacles he was brought before the chief of the detachment of Crusaders and commanded to secede from Judaism. Simon undaunted made reply that his father, grandfather, and great-grandfather before him had all been devout Jews and ever ready to die for their creed and nation and that he was resolutely prepared to meet the fate from which they would not have shrunk if in his position. He was threatened and eventually tortured but firmly reiterated his decision to die. Finding further threats or torments useless, they mutilated the brave captive in a most shocking manner and when he had succumbed to his injuries, his corpse was cast overboard. It was then that a woman who, if ever there was a Calendar of Jewish Saints, would rank among the foremost names, Minna of Speyer was seized, starved for two whole days, and then fainting for hunger laid upon the horrible rack and during the alternations of her agony and threats of the iron mask asked to save her life and forswear her allegiance to her faith. At the very name of this most awful form of torture, the brawniest ruffians and most gigantic men have shuddered and wept ; but Minna was no craven, she withstood all, she was invincible. Fitting theme for the loftiest pæans of praise, she alone would prove Israel's claim of allegiance to nation under all straits.

As in the first Crusade when the Jews could contrive to conceal themselves they were safe ; but when a foolhardy few ventured to leave their hiding places, they were invariably pounced upon by the pilgrims who laid regular ambuscades to entrap them and then cruelly

tortured and murdered them. The Cardinal Archbishop of Cologne ceded them the town of Wolkenburg, which they had purchased for an immense sum and found it necessary to serve them with arms, so desperate were the attacks of their besiegers.

On the 22nd Adar, (24th February,) 1147, their untiring persecutors on some untenable and insipid pretext made a most murderous attack upon the town of Wurtzburg, and butchered all the Jews they could find. The house of the Rabbi, Isaac Ben Eliakim, a man so pious and virtuous that he was honoured even by Christian bishops, was burst into and the venerable and gentle old man—a man who was never known to utter a harsh word or a reproach—was discovered seated at his table studying a holy book ; a fierce Crusader ran up to the old man. He without a tremor calmly continued to peruse the book upon which he was intent, not even raising his eyes or attempting to quit his seat, though the room that was ever filled with his Jewish pupils was now filled with bloody murderers and the roof sanctified to shelter the homeless and to charity and peace was now the scene of inhuman deeds, his cheek did not blanch or his heart fail him, and there he sat till the pilgrim ran his pike through the martyr's heart.[1]

Many were the martyrs that fell in 1147, many the babes plucked from their mothers' breasts and rent in twain. With none to restrain, the monk-incited citizens fell upon the Jews and slaughtered them right and left. The fateful events of 1096 were repeated with this difference ; in the first Crusade many cities held aloof from assisting or abetting the Crusaders, in the second Crusaders and Burghers were in coalition to utterly exterminate them ; instead of the lapse of fifty years alleviating their sorrow it only increased its intensity and rendered it more acrid. Had it not been for the providential intervention of St. Bernard[2] the primal object of the Crusade might have been discarded and a Crusade of extermination against the Jews alone in place of Jews and Turks been preached, so strongly had Rudolf re-lit the torch of persecution and so recrudescent had these massacres become. We have already spoken of St. Bernard and shown how his great influence was wielded to counteract the facundity of this militant heretic-hater. We can imagine how differently the history of this period would have read had this good man not interfered ; as it was

(1.) Graetz III.

(2.) "Had not the tender mercies of the Lord," says a contemporary Hebrew chronicler, "sent that priest none of thy children would have survived. It is indeed true that the fierce crowds, who angrily surrounded the adored abbot execrating his action in depriving them of their favourite Rudolf, were as his biographer says, stilled into tardy submission by the only man capable of hushing them in Europe, would have probably murdered any other cleric living had he attempted to do the same."

Mentz, Cologne, Worms, Spiers and Strasburg were bathed in the blood of murdered Jews. 1147 was a replica of 1096 for the German and Austrian Jews. The Emperor Conrad had taken no steps to protect his Jewish subjects.

Under the Emperors immediately succeeding him the position of the Jews was sometimes acute, sometimes tolerable, but always unenviable; some proceeded to the greatest extremes against them.[1] Frederick Barbarossa declared them to be his body slaves. This was the punishment meted out to persons guilty of high treason. He vindicated this high-handed action by claiming to be a lineal successor of Titus. Yet though he treated them so unjustly, he protected them from outrage and saw the few rights he granted them fairly exercised. Still he could not assure them absolute immunity from injury. There occurred in his reign an event that marks with great cogency the lamentable untenability of their position. We cite the passage from Graetz (III 431). "The infamous invention that the Jews used Christian blood found greater credence in Germany than elsewhere, and whenever the dead body of a Christian was found princes and people immediately laid the murder at the door of the Jews. A ship containing Jews was proceeding from Cologne to Boppard, and after it there sailed another with Christian passengers. The latter found a Christian woman dead in Boppard and forthwith they jumped to the conclusion that the Jews of the first ship had slain her. The Christians immediately pursued and overtook them and having called upon them to submit to baptism, on their refusal hurled them into the floods of the Rhine." Yet no wholesale massacres were allowed in territory under Royal surveillance: Frederick suppressed in its inception any attempts at a general uprising but under his lax and indolent successor, Henry VI, when practically unrestrained, they broke loose upon all the German and Austrian Jews murdering whole communities en masse. This massacre, however, was fortunately not a protracted one like those in 1147 had been. The German Jews suffered the rigid enforcement of all the decrees of Popes and Councils with which the Church worried the Jews of all Christendom, but no serious calamity is again to be found till 1235 (January 23rd,) A Christian body, doubtless waylaid by brigands, was found between the towns of Baden and Bischofsheim. A most unskilful and flimsy charge

---

(1.) They had illustrious precedent. Otho the Great had exacted an annual tribute from the Jews in his dominions and as a mark of special favour undertook to present to the church of Magdeburg part of his revenue from the Jews; in 981 he *presented the Jewish community of Merseburg* to the bishop of that diocese.

was immediately formulated accusing "the Jews"—a most comprehensive term !—of having murdered a Christian. Had a Christian been actually seen committing the murder he might—in accordance with Middle Age notions of justice—have been imprisoned or fined or even not punished at all. The Jews of Baden had lived in the province unmolested for years, and were well known to possess much wealth within easy access, so the entire communities of Bischofsheim and Baden were summarily arrested and imprisoned. Four of the most aged and venerated members of each body were led to the market place and publicly tortured to such a degree, that they in their insufferable agony admitted whatever they were ordered to. This passed for conclusive evidence of their guilt. They were then executed on the following day (Jan. 24th.) To the eternal shame of Germany was the same dismal fate meted out to every Jew and Jewess in custody. All kinds of idiotic calumnies were laid against the Jews. Charges incoherent and stupid were nevertheless invariably believed and we have yet to see one of these accusations which, even when irrefragably disproved, was not followed by some injustice varying only in nature. During many reigns they lived in a veritable hell, taxed and ground down, plundered and denied the rights of human beings. One Jew could never appeal to the Crown. The Jews were a body and taxed and regarded as such. A Jew had no rights, but all the Jews in Germany might unite in presenting a petition to the King. Their lot was unenviable enough ; every step was shadowed, every word was analysed. To enter and loot a Jewish house was so venial a matter and of such frequent occurrence that many tribunals would take no cognizance of it. Jews were murdered daily and publicly,[1] yet unless actuated by some ulterior motive, Justice, that is in its German form, let the miscreants go unpunished.

To draw a vivid picture of the German Jews in the Middle Ages is a gruesome task indeed. The grand castle of Nuremburg standing massive and awful through the centuries hid beneath its frowning battlements many scenes to hear of which would agonize the Jew today : its mural solidity and its grim heavy structure have silenced to the world the dying groans of numberless members of that ill-omened race. Misery, torture and oppression have ever found their first victims among the Jews, for they were unprotected. At one period the entire Jewish people resident in Germany were declared to be the body slaves of the Germano-Roman Empire, a position somewhat

(1.) No fanatic monk set the populace in commotion, no public calamity took place, no atrocious or extravagant report was propagated but it fell upon the heads of this unhappy caste. Milman.

analogous to the serfs. In Germany in fact, till the very dawn of the nineteenth century their position was distinctly defined. They enjoyed no rights and privileges except those any whimsical Emperor might choose to grant them for the moment : they had no effectual protection, the absence of which emboldened the people to rob and wrong them with impunity. No public disaster, no national contingency but the persecuted Jews were tortured, burned and robbed ; a father might be compelled to witness the violation of his wife or daughter and yet be powerless to punish the perpetrator, had he but dared to speak he would have been instantly struck to the ground. The whole nation was being continually aspersed and every member of it twitted and jeered at. This was done in the hope that some incautious Jew would be goaded into a verbal retort, and if, in self-defence, he injudiciously uttered a few sharp words he would be forthwith arraigned for insulting the German citizens. An avalanche of mammoth falsehoods together with numerous extravagant and insipid charges was invented to warrant the deeds of outrage and violence, and religious ardour was used to give them the appearance of veracity. Confined within their narrow and pestilential ghettos they emerged on other than stipulated hours at the cost of their lives. If a prominent Jew appeared abroad on a Catholic festival it was the signal for an attack upon all his co-religionists. On the Jewish festivals it was customary for the mob to arm themselves with whips, leather thongs, cudgels and staves, enter the synagogues, stop the service, mimic the proceedings and whip the worshippers, till they left them in a state of thorough prostration and collapse. At their bare entry on a Day of Atonement or New Year, many swooned away from sheer fright, those who stood impassive were flogged until their assailants from pure exhaustion, were constrained to desist. The invasion of synagogues during the Day of Atonement was a source of deep lamentation to the Hebrews. The synagogue was their only house of refuge, there they had ever sought solace from their mundane anxieties ; there they taught and prayed and fasted, and now that their very inmost fortress was invaded they knew not where to fly. Had any other body of men of naturally high sentiment undergone the treatment, their every finer feeling would have been blunted, and their every moral perception deadened. Throughout the entire Empire of Germany a programme of persecution was carried out. In Bavaria twelve thousand Jews were massacred in one day. Compared with such a deed, the immense additional taxes imposed upon them become insignificant, also the fact that they were very heavily taxed for the Crusades. During the internal dissensions with which factious parties rent Germany into huge camps, breathing

death to each other and ever seeking bloody reprisals, the records of the Jews are written in tears. They were often allowed to accumulate wealth in one town, then deprived of it and sent to another on some flimsy charge, there to be dealt with in the same way. In 1226 the good city of Mecklenburg proceeded to the last extreme and expelled the whole Jewish community with every mark of popular disfavour. Breslau immediately followed in its footsteps; thus were the Jews banished from two cities in which they had, for centuries resided, yet to none could they appeal for aid or justice. Frankfort, the scene of so much Jewish misery, expelled them in 1241, as did Munich in 1243. It was, says Foote, an organized Jew hunt from place to place.

The strife of the Guelphi and the Ghibellini that distracted Germany, and in fact tore the larger part of Europe till the accession of Rudolph of Hapsburg, was the indirect cause of the perpetration of the direst atrocities against misfortune's favourite child—the Jew. Thousands upon thousands of martyrs fell every year. It is a matter of impossibility to give in a brief and incomplete glance at Jewish persecutions such as this is, even the faintest glimmer of the hundreds of German massacres and outrages against that people. Let it suffice to say that in many towns, on a minor festival or even on an ordinary Sunday to appear in the streets after six at night was an offence that was very severely punished. In Strasburg for instance, no Jew was seen out of the ghetto at night for centuries. In Coblentz, Sinzig, Erfurt, Weissenburg, Armstadt, Magdeburg, Dessau and many other towns Jews were martyred in very large numbers. In some towns they were caught, bound and roasted alive. The inhuman perpetrators were so proud of their achievements that they ever after added to their names, the title of Juden Bratter (Jew Roaster). No man dare assume this noble and coveted distinction unless he had roasted alive at least one Jew. We extract a passage from the "Crimes of Christianity."[1] "At Frankfort all the Jews in the city (it appears that they had been re-admitted) were put to death, except a few who escaped to Bohemia. Wherever the Jews were not burned they were banished and being compelled to wander about they fell into the hands of the country people, who persecuted them with fire and sword. At Ulm all the Jewish inhabitants were burnt. In Mayence twelve thousand are said to have been cruelly massacred. In Eslingen the Jews anticipated their oppressors, for perceiving that death was inevitable the whole congregation to a soul entered into their synagogue and having hid the Torah set fire to it, and refusing to quit the burning building were burned to death—truly a most touching suicide.

(1.) Page 156.

Hundreds of Jewish Boadiceas burned both themselves and their children, believing that a noble suicide was preferable to baptism and an ignoble life. Often when a congregation was surrounded and commanded to apostatize from Judaism, not one soul vacillated, each went willingly to his death. Not every nation can show in its annals instances of entire communities numbering hundreds, voluntarily and with pathetic unanimity courting death to elude dishonour. "Oppressed by the nobles, anathematised by the clergy, hated as rivals in trade by the burghers ; in the commercial cities despised and abhorred by the populace, their existence is known rarely in chronicles of protective edicts, more often of their massacre."[1] At Strasburg during a time of pestilence and disease, aggravated by the filth and corruption of the peasantry, but imagined to be a divine visitation, the burghers thinking thereby to appease God[2] chained the entire Jewish community, exceeding two thousand three hundred souls together, and at a given signal dragged them into their own cemetery, where the graves of their sleeping fathers were opened and the lately buried corpses insulted in the most sickening and filthy manner. This was but preludial to a far darker tragedy. An immense scaffold had been erected, and this they were compelled to mount. It was raised to a great altitude to prevent their leaping down, they were then told either to renounce the Hebraic creed or die. Not ten out of the 2,300 captives failed in the cruel ordeal, the remainder unhesitatingly and unanimously resolved to die. So many sweet and fragrant flowers in the garden of Judah were doomed to a fiery death. The scaffold was soon in one giant flame, and these martyrs reciting the sublime confessions of the Unity gave up their pure and unblemished lives unsmirched and untarnished for the glory of their nation, offered up to fanaticism, the Moloch of the human heart. Their bravery is as inimitable as their memory is immutable and imperishable. A few young girls whose tender years and luxuriant beauty proved too touching a spectacle to a small number of the spectators were dragged from the scaffold and caught as they fell, but were instantly murdered by the mob.

On the 19th of April, 1283, a dead child was found in Mayence ; it was instantly given out that the Jews alone were responsible and the populace at once surrounded the Jewish quarter and massacred its residents in large numbers and when glutted with blood they pillaged the houses. On the same day an armed attack was made upon the surprised community at Bacharach where twenty six Jews were heartlessly murdered.

(1.) "History of the Jews," Vol. III.
(2.) Markham, "History of Germany," page 195.

On the 11th of October in the same year a lying accusation was made that the Jews had bought a Christian child, crucified it in mockery of the Passion, and used its blood for the Passover service. Local circumstances were adduced which irrefutably disproved this mad indictment, but without any pretence at a trial or sentence, the mob fell on every Jew found in the district of the town where the indictment had been made and murdered them with indescribable ferocity. The remainder fled for safety to their synagogues which were barred to prevent the ingress of their foes. Nothing daunted the foaming mob procured some fiery liquids and quickly set both the building and its trembling inmates ablaze, thus in one instance roasting alive nearly two hundred fellow human beings among whom were many women and children. The inexorable Commanches were most hilarious and in transports of joy, for they were convinced that they had won the eternal respect of the clergy and nobles; so it proved for no word was said against their fiendish crime. Beautiful yet mournful is the description of how when one congregation was in danger almost every community in Germany fasted, prayed and wept for their straitened brethren. Such a tale contains the grandest elements of pathos and draws the truest picture of Jewish sentiment and shows how the link of eternal brotherhood binds together millions of persecuted homeless outcasts and wanderers into one common body. After a general rising against the Jews, one congregation that had escaped pillage would always succour another that had been less fortunate. One would almost imagine that the German Jews held their goods in common; in so brotherly a manner did they treat their unfortunate kinsmen. One congregation would often sell a fourth of its possessions to relieve another in trouble. Charity in its most unostentatious and sincere form has however been a characteristic trait and with their collateral virtue---unflinching heroism—they are well equipped to enter into the arena of public admiration, they will not be disparaged or depreciated by comparison with any nation.

The community at Rothenburg was so panic stricken at the lightning succession of disasters that had befallen their brethren throughout Germany, that in conjunction with several communities in a similar frame of mind, they resolved to quit the inhospitable soil of Germany. Though exceedingly wealthy they left the greater part of their possessions (mainly property that was inconvertible into money) behind. The leader of the Exodus in search of peace was Rabbi Meir of Rothenburg. He was idolized by the entire body of German Jews and not undeservedly, his vast and profound knowledge of Rabbinic and Hebrew literature, his suave and affable manner, his noble and

patriotic character might well have endeared him to his co-religionists, for his every effort in life was directed to assuage their sufferings. The rendezvous was Lombardy and while Rabbi Meir and those with him were awaiting a second batch of sufferers, who had left the cities of the Rhine, intending to take ship for Palestine, an event transpired that marred all their projects for freedom. The Bishop of Basle happened to be passing through Lombardy when one of his train, an apostate Jew, recognized Meir and apprised his master of the plan, for he had perceived the purport of his appearance in Italy. The Rabbi was arrested and handed over to the German Emperor Rudolph, who imprisoned him in a tower in Alsace, but the influence and sterling worth of the old man to which his captor was no stranger, accounts for the fact that he suffered no ill-treatment at the hands of his jailers. Rudolph's motive for this untoward lenity to one of his prisoners is lucent ; he, being cognizant of the prisoner's great power among the Jews, dreaded that should he ill-treat him, the wealthy *Servi Camerae* would leave Germany *en masse* and he knew that if this were done, it would indubitably tend to diminish his revenue. The residue of Jews who had escaped the massacres deplored the fact that one of their most revered heads was immured and with typical Jewish practicability offered the Emperor 20,000 marks to order his liberation and grant them a few stipulated privileges ; these requests however were of subsidiary interest to them ; their main petition was for the release of the distinguished prisoner. Rudolph accepted their terms and money but Meir was not set free. The Rabbi's sagacity and forethought taught him that were he to quit his cell, it would become an established means of extorting money from the Jews by every petty princeling, every chief of a band of marauders seizing Rabbis and holding them at a ransom, so the aged patriot never again saw the sun of freedom, but died in voluntary captivity after many years of willing detention. After his death Rudolph kept his corpse disinterred thinking to drag more money from those who lamented his unhappy death. So fabulously large was the sum demanded that for fourteen years the body remained unburied until the richest Hebrew in the country beggared himself and purchased it from the mercenary monarch. In return Alexander Winpfen only asked that his body might be buried next to that of the honoured Rabbi. An incident of this nature needs no comment, it has but to be mentioned.

In 1289 the awful onslaughts of the rabble, generally fomented by accusations made with most specious figments, extended to Franconia. In the town of Rottingen a butcher named Rindsfleisch professed to have received a divine command to extirpate the Jews in Germany.

He had since childhood possessed a penchant for Jew-hunting and anxiously sought to efface the nation from history and to obliterate the very memory of the word Jew. Finding his reputation growing apace, he quickly repeated the charge that the Jews of his particular town had insulted the "Host" by pounding it to crumbs in a mortar and that the outraged deity had bled most profusely and performed the full complement of miracles usual on these occasions. On this imbecile pretext he directed his corybantic followers to burn at the stake every Jew in the town and despite their loud cries for mercy and their piteous protestations of innocence, the entire community at Rottingen were martyred in punishment of a crime they had never committed (7th., Iyar—20th., April 1298). This bloody massacre inaugurated a fearful and far reaching persecution of the Jews which lasted nearly six months and blotted out of life about one hundred and fifty communities in all parts of the country. With simple tears of commiseration, Rindsfleisch recited the story of the Passion, and how the Jews had slain the Lamb of God, to the peasants and villagers and implored them to slaughter the desecrators of the consecrated wafer. The martyrdom of no less than 100,000 Jews was the result. The troop of executioners, who journeyed from town to town, from village to village, forced the inhabitants to arm themselves with axes, knives, flails and staves and assist in the extermination of their Jewish fellow men. So general was the dreadful movement, so formidable were the dimensions it assumed, that every Jew in the country was in hourly expectancy of death. Everywhere the mob triumphed : and over whom did they triumph ? Over helpless women, over voiceless babes, over toothless men ; on these did they slake their thirst for Jewish blood. It was a most propitious time for Rindfleisch, internecine strife and discord shielded him from the visitation of retribution and when the Sacramental wafer was said to have been insulted or outraged, the fanaticism of those in power condoned the cruel massacres, that were the inevitable sequel. Had the leader been endowed with prophetic foresight, he could not have selected a more fiendish pretext or one that was better adapted to thrill the nation with horror. Several towns that had been granted the legal enjoyment of Burghership were among the list of murdered congregations. In not one town were the exhortations of the leader, whom the greatest dreaded to oppose, unheeded. The poor nidulant Jews clinging to one another with all the tenacity of despair were tortured, burnt and mutilated to death without mercy or discrimination. Age, sex, condition, all alike were unpitied. The congregation at Wurzburg, one of the largest, wealthiest, and most strictly orthodox, was destroyed to a man, not

even a child of three days' old was spared. Old men too helpless to hide, too feeble to walk, were beheaded or disembowelled in their beds. Those of the assassins who had discovered the hiding place of wealth decamped with it after pointing out the Jewish houses to the main body (12 Av., 24th July, 1298). Ten days later (22nd Av, August 1st.,) the fortress of Nuremburg to which the Jews of that city had fled in terror, was assailed with all the strategy and engines of military attack. Bravely did the beleaguered Jews fight, their intrepid courage and leonine valour attracted a fair number of the burghers to aid them ; but even with these timorous and half-hearted auxiliaries, the vast numbers of their assailants enabled them to finally overpower the Jews, who, small number that they were, held out to the last gasp. In Augsburg the mimetic citizens re-enacted this dark tragedy : the Jewish streets swam with the blood of innocent men. The Ratisbon and Munich communities stood nobly to their faith : husbands slew their wives, fathers their own sons and daughters, mothers cast their frightened infants into the flames and immediately followed them to death. The horrors of Titus' siege of Jerusalem were transcended in many German towns. The swarms of slaughterers may have had hearts, but there existed one word by which the softest could be petrified, by which the tear of commiseration could be disdainfully swept aside and the very hand extended in succour to the dying and suffering drawn back in horror, that word was "Jew." Had the termination of the Civil War not ensued, no German Israelite would have survived the terrible outbreak of 1298. Fortunately the coronation of Albrecht turned the minds of the populace into political channels ; thus their theological studies (i.e. the whereabouts of wealthy and valetudinarian Jews, who, too weak to defend themselves, might be robbed and slain) were neglected. Albrecht inaugurated his reign by inhibiting the splitting open of Jewish skulls and other popular pastimes exercised upon that people.

In 1336—within forty years of the bloody massacres under Rindsfleisch—a new expedition for the butchery of the Jews was formed. Two knights gathered together a band of some five thousand peasants, who had been rendered savage by the addresses of the clergy who thundered forth commands to revenge the death of Christ and disbelief in Christianity upon the Jews. Having armed themselves with hatchets, pikes, pitchforks and other weapons, they were harangued by one of the Knights, who purported to have been commanded by Christ himself to avenge his five wounds upon the German Jews and wipe out his sufferings in their blood. The sign of Membership in this bloody campaign was a leather badge worn round the arm from

which the persecution is known as that of the "Leather Arms." Till the end of 1337 the most dreadful massacres of Jews took place. Alsace, the cities of the Rhine, and Suabia—all thickly populated with Jews—were ravaged without mercy. Not even the alternative of baptism was given them, so bitter had the butchers become. Every where they destroyed their own children to prevent their enforced secession from Judaism. Had it not been for the timely intervention of Louis the Bavarian, who captured and beheaded one of the prime instigators and leaders, the nation would have been eternally rooted out of Germany, but luckily the death of one of the two "Leather Arms" led the second to disband his army and thus avoid the fate of his colleague. In the afore-mentioned provinces and districts the massacres had thus ceased, but in Bavaria, parts of Austria, Moravia and Bohemia the self constituted avengers of the crucifixion were not to be quelled and the number of poor Hebrews, who paid the cost of being Jews with their lives is beyond computation. So rife and systematic, so general and protracted, had these executions of entire congregations become that it would be a fallacy for any writer to attempt to make even a bare enumeration of the hundreds of communities that were martyred, of the thousands of heroes and patriots who were slaughtered like sheep, of the myriads of children destroyed by their own parents, who swore that they should escape from the clutches of the Church. We will give one instance however. The nobles and burghers of the city of Deckendorf in Bavaria determined to slaughter their Jews. They could vent their fanatical fury on them as heretics, gain their wealth as booty, and free themselves from the debts their impecuniosity and corruptness had incurred. The trite tale of a wonder working, loudly protesting,[1] outraged "Host" that had been pierced by the knives of the Jews, and had bled copiously was refurbished. The profuse flow of blood from the outraged divinity must be avenged, the honour and prestige of Christianity was at stake. Arrangements for a massacre *en masse* were made with a knight named Hartmann, who, stationing himself and his mercenaries in a contiguous village, awaited the pre-arranged signal,—the tolling of the Church bell. This brazen tongued witness sounded the dolorous knell that was fore-doomed to be the funereal note of the poor and inoffensive pariahs, whose crime lay in their form of religion and in their wealth and defencelessness. The Jews of Deckendorf were already moribund with fright, for all around them were deadly foes and they knew that

(1.) Can the reader fancy a deiparous loaf, or a piece of bread assassinated and loudly demanding justice, yet how many thousands of lives have such tales cost?

their fanaticism could only be slaked by the shedding of Jewish blood, their cupidity by the theft of their goods and the pillage of their quarter. Not one hand was uplifted to stay the consummation of their awful purpose, not one voice was raised to objurgate the maddened deeds of the relentless butchers ; all were against the Jews, as if the very elements were in coalition to obliterate their memory. Every Jew in the city, man, woman, child, adult or infant, was soon bathed in his life's blood and became the victim of Christian savagery.

In 1342 Louis the Bavarian ordered a poll tax of a florin on every Jew and Jewess in the Roman Empire.

In 1348 all the Jews of the Upper Rhine were banished by decree of the "Council of Alsace," called to consider what was to be done with them.

During the years 1348, 1349, the German Jews went through the direst miseries ; so awful were the persecutions, that they are almost without parallel even in German History. It was like a new Crusade. The charge lodged against them that they had poisoned wells, fountains and even rivers, hoping thereby to accelerate the Black Plague, was universally believed. This indictment has already been animadverted upon in the preceding chapter, where an attempt has been made to show the culpable credulity evinced : for the Jews suffered from the plague together with the Christians, though owing to their abstemious lives and hygienic precautions, less severely than their neighbours.

Disregarding all positive evidence to the contrary, the Jews were here, as in France, held responsible. Communities that had been practically wiped out of existence were again virile and again attacked with every circumstance of massacre, the full complement of horrors transpiring.

Like the fabled Phoenix, from the ashes of one community there sprang up another, and congregations that were deemed destroyed and their identity irretrievably lost, worshipped their God and followed the rites of their murdered fathers. The Strasburg community (wiped out in 1298) was by a vote of the Town Council destroyed by fire. Their devotional and Synagogal requisites were treated with contumely and destroyed. The property of the martyrs was divided among the burghers. Sadder indeed was the fate of the Jewish community at Worms. Its members had won golden opinions by its probity and rectitude. The Catholic Bishops held them up to their subordinate clergy, when reproving their rampant excesses, as models for emulation ; moreover it had existed before Germany was known to the world as a civilized country, being coeval with that of Cologne. It had sustained many fierce onslaughts and had nearly succumbed during

the Crusaders' march through the country, but its days were numbered. A hasty meeting of the Town Council was convened and it was gravely proposed, as the only method of stemming the fearful ferment against the Jews in that town, to burn them alive to a man. To the everlasting shame and infamy of Germany, this barbarous proposition was received with general assent and it was solemnly resolved to put it into immediate effect. The horror stricken Jews, who had fasted for two days in succession, were in the slough of misery. For weeks past violent efforts had been made both by blandishments and threats to seduce them from their adherence to Judaism, the primary cause of all their sorrows. Like true scions of the nobility of history all the exertions of their foes were in vain ; they even refused a request that they should seriously consider their position and withhold their answer for a few days. But when the decision of the Town Council was conveyed to them the love of life became strong, and delegating their Rabbi, a very old and feeble man, and the principal elders, in all twelve men, to wait upon the Council and implore their mercy, they abandoned themselves to the deepest grief. With weary hearts and tear-bedimmed eyes the poor sons of a persecuted race started on their vain errand ; an errand they should have known from their own history was useless. Their trembling forms and sobs, as they begged the fiendish Council for mercy rendered them the butt of the most flippant and wanton sallies of heartless mirth. Their wild entreaties, that would have touched the most cruel Bedouin nomad, were ridiculed. "Dog of a circumcised Jew," said one councillor to the Rabbi, "three days hence and we shall slay you." Finding their prayers of no effect they sorrowfully withdrew and wended their steps home to the Jewish quarter, where their disconsolate co-religionists had submitted themselves to unheard of austerities, hoping to propitiate God by their self inflicted sufferings. Learning that the Emperor Charles IV had coolly disclaimed all responsibility in the risings against the Jews throughout the country and left the citizens to the exercise of their own will, the Jews of Worms unanimously resolved to thwart the vengeance of the burghers and on the 10th., Adar (1st., March) 1349 simultaneously set fire to their dwellings and voluntarily burnt themselves to death, thus destroying at one blow their lives and property, together with the hopes of butchery and plunder the city was cherishing. A German historian computes that 420 was the number of suicides and prolicides. A neighbouring community being in similar straits resorted to the same awful method of obviating the inevitable doom of wholesale destructiou, July 29th., (Tammuz 10th.,) 1349. This congregation (Oppenheim), though neither so ancient nor so large

as that at Worms, its heroic prototype, was wealthy, orthodox and by no means unimportant. The German people, however, it is only fair to relate, firmly believed in the guilt of the Jews, i.e., that their machinations had created, or at least contributed to create, the scourge that was depopulating the country. In the next chapter, reference will be made to an incident that enhanced the belief in that fatal opinion. In Wurtemburg a large pile was raised and every Jew and Jewess found in the town was bound, cast upon it and burnt to ashes. This spot was for centuries known as the "Jew Roasting Hill," and the citizens were ever ready to recount this exploit by which they had won fame and popularity. In Munich the raid was made in the dead of night, and the Jews were slaughtered whilst asleep in their beds. Augsburg, Ratisbon, Wurzburg, Dessau and Zinjen—all of which congregations had been attacked during the massacres of 1298—were mercilessly slain on their firmly refusing to desert Judaism. The Magdeburg community were surrounded on the Sabbath in their synagogue and after having been frightfully tortured were finally slain, August 10th., Ellul 15th., 1349. Throughout Hanover they were destroyed with pitiless and unabating fury. A son of the Emperor, Louis, Margrave of Brandenburg, issued an order calling upon all loyal Germans and faithful Catholics to burn the Jews of Konigsberg—which was under his jurisdiction—and destroy their goods. His order was faithfully obeyed, had he called upon his subjects to protect them, it is questionable whether they would have shown a similar amount of loyalty. In Bavaria the inhabitants of the towns and villages were absolutely goaded by Ducal pressure into deeds of rapine and butchery. The Duke issued an order which was publicly read in every market place to the beating of a drum and proclamation of a herald, advising the massacre of all Jews and declaring himself to be greatly desirous of such a course being followed. His brother, whose dominions also contained a large number of Jews, advocated similar treatment in an address to his peasantry. The Jews of Breslau were suddenly surprised and pounced upon by strategy, they were quickly hacked to pieces, not one soul, adult or infant escaped. In Erfurt 3,000 were murdered in cold blood while several hundreds perished in the adjoining villages. The large community of Mayence was wiped out to a man, 6,000 victims fell to the fury of their foes. Everywhere they were, amid the hideous tintamar, hewn down without scruple. At Frankfort a desperate and organized resistance was made on the part of the Jews, elsewhere they allowed themselves to be killed like sheep in a slaughter house. The mob was soon lessened by two hundred, who had become billets for the Jewish weapons, but reinforcements from the villages

outlying Frankfort soon arrived and after a desperate sally on the assailants, the Jews found that resistance was of no use and that they were unable to cope with such a number. Then gathering together all the inflammable matter at hand, they set their quarters in flames and thus became their own executioners, yet their own deliverers. These are but a few instances of what the Black Plague cost the Jews of Germany. Throughout Austria, Hungary, Suabia, Bohemia and Moravia they were burnt and slain like rabid dogs. At Speyer the streets were so full of murdered Jews and the corpses of those, who had taken their own lives out of sheer terror, that their bodies were contemptuously thrust into barrels containing pork and rolled into the river. New communities were being expelled, and their goods confiscated daily, and almost every town that banished them decreed that one hundred years must elapse before they should be readmitted ; yet many of these towns learned their helplessness, when deprived of them by their own cruelty. They were the commercial classes and represented the trade and culture of many a German city, that soon rued the course it had taken. The Archbishop of Mayence strenuously exerted himself to secure their re-settlement in larger numbers than heretofore.

The Jews of Germany had lost almost every vestige of human liberty. We find an eloquent instance of this fact in *Dean Milman's "History of Latin Christianity,"* where we read (VII, 35) of an Archbishop of Mentz, who dictated to his Emperor the terms of accession. "Among the stipulations, the Emperor was to make over the Jews of Mentz (the Jews of Mentz were the serfs of the Emperor) to the Archbishop. After the anti-Jewish fever of the Black Plague had subsided, another Jewish scourge arose in the Flagellants, a number of fanatics who marched through every part of Germany preceded by banners and crucifixes shouting till hoarse, "Death to the Jews and all infidels." Their particular form of ritual was to flog themselves with leather thongs in atonement for their sins, which were no doubt very great, till their backs were lacerated and streams of blood gushed from their many wounds. Their march was fraught with untold misery to the Jews, whose extirpation, they boldly declared, was their unalterable purpose. They had learned how to concoct the most ludicrous and absurd stories concerning the Jews and how to surround them with a glamour of religious horror and send a thrill of bitter indignation through their auditors. Did a Jew speak ? He was summoning demons and vampires to poison the wells. Did he not speak? He was meditating how to steal some Christian child for Passover. Did a Jew appear in public ? He was seeking to betray the Christians. Did he

remain at home? It was the Saints that had confined him to his bed. Did a Jew educate his children? It was so that they might detect the flaws in Christianity. Did he not educate them? It was because he was not possessed of the finer feelings. In fine every Jewish word, gesture, action, or even thought, was a crime that could only be wiped out in blood. Such was the position at Frankfort (which appears to have become again thinly populated by Jews) and other towns. Jews were residing in many of the towns at this period from which they had been expelled during the plague. How they were re-admitted is not clear, yet their position must have been unenviable, and on the whole untenable.

In 1384 new outrages occurred. The entire Jewish population of Nordlingen was massacred and the congregation at Augsburg imprisoned and held at ransom for 20,000 florins. Several Saints were added to the Calendar at this time, they were either persons, who had been found dead or disappeared, and suspicion had fastened upon the Jews. Trials begun with malice and conducted with hatred established their guilt, but that fact does not prevent the Catholics to this very hour calling upon "blessed William" and "blessed Simon" and "blessed Werner the Martyr" and several other people.

In 1421 when the German Army under the Emperor Sigismund set out for Bohemia to meet the Hussite champion, John Zisca, whole regiments of soldiers fell upon the few weak, dis-membered and suffering communities, who were just beginning to rear their heads from the dust and re-organise themselves. "We are going to slay the enemies of Christ in Bohemia shall we then spare them in Germany?" Such was their irrefragable logic. "If we rout the Hussites, we shall blot out the very word Jew from the history of Europe." This was no idle threat for they had firmly determined to complete what the Crusaders had so successfully begun—the annihilation of the whole body of German Jews. So seriously did the terrified Israelites view this threat, that the Rabbi of Mayence,[1] Jacob Mollin, one of the most pious Jews of the fifteenth century, ordained rigorous fasts throughout the country. It was during the "Ten Penitential Days," that the fear of attack was most acute. On four alternate days after the Feast of Tabernacles, every German congregation observed most rigid fasts. Prayers and supplications were offered up throughout Germany. Many of the Spanish communities evinced sympathy for their apprehensive brethren, whose plight they deeply lamented, by instituting

(1.) Mayence was ever a hotbed of Jewish persecution. As early as 1012, the Jews of that city had been expelled by order of the Emperor Henry.

similar fasts and holding special services. The ultimate revulsion of political events turned their fear into calm, for the precipitate and ignominious flight of these doughty warriors from before the army of Zisca, blind though he was, prevented them from executing their cruel and bloody intentions. Many of the erstwhile threateners of the Jews came to the very doors of those they had execrated, begging for a piece of bread which was not refused the starving and tattered villains.

The rejoicings of those who deemed their escape from massacre the direct intervention of Heaven, baffles all description, yet the agony of mind which they had endured renders the whole affair a most melancholy one. So certain had they been of death, that the Jewish husbands and fathers had arranged for their wives and children to be put to death on the giving of a certain signal, preferring this rather than that they should be dragged to the churches by the monks, who had made frantic efforts to aggravate the evil opinions the enemies of the Jews already entertained of them.

In the same year the burghers of Cologne, where a small bruised Jewish community appears to have survived, assembled in meeting, resolved to oppugn the decree of the Emperor, who had been acquainted with their intentions, and banished the Jewish residents. This unjust action had no origin other than in their bitter antipathy to the Jews and to infidels in general. Jews had been settled in Cologne since the Roman invasions of Germany and no misconduct had ever been charged to them ; on the contrary their whole career had been most exemplary. The town gained its point against the Emperor, whom it had often defied with impunity.

In 1431 the town of Lindau was the scene of a tragedy in which the Jews were the victims. They had been accused of murdering a Christian child for ritualistic purposes. The fact that the boy had been temporarily secreted by the formulators of this foul charge was not considered to be of sufficient cogency to tie the hands of the people. They clamoured for blood and hastily proceeded to tie all the Jews of the town to stakes and burn them to death. The child after being thus revenged was set at liberty. The inhabitants of Ravensburg on learning of the Lindau atrocity, immediately discovered that they also had a martyr to Jewish cruelty in the shape of a similarly murdered child. The distracted Jews were driven into their synagogue and their egress provided against. Lighted brands were then thrown into the crowded edifice and in a few moments a loyal community was transformed into a heap of charred corpses, and their synagogue a wreck of masonry. Ravensburg must have been in constant communication with the next town Oberlingen, for within a few days

of the receipt of intelligence of the tragedy perpetrated in the former city, the Jews of Oberlingen were burnt at the stake without trial, sentence, or even indictment.

The period immediately following the Hussite war saw a transition in the strategy of the Jew-hunting world ; the "Host desecrating" charge was to be allowed to fall into temporary desuetude, as also the "fountain poisoning" calumny, it being discovered that the "Ritual Murder by Crucifixion" charge always worked the people into greater frenzy.

In 1450, (October 5th,) Duke Louis of Bavaria, one of the deadliest foes Christian Europe ever pitted against a weak and scattered nation, seized all the Jews throughout his domains and immured them in damp and dark dungeons there to await the communication of his will. After cruelly torturing them by means of studied delays, and refusals to acquaint them with his intentions, he—after his prisoners had suffered four weeks' inexpressible anguish of mind—released them on receipt of 30,000 gulden for which he sold them their lives. He also robbed them of their property and jewellery, with which however his victims gladly parted to save their heads from the axe. His next move was to promulgate a decree ordering the expulsion from his territories of those he had stripped ; a decree that was promptly put into execution. It is fortunate that Louis' power did not extend over a large area ; had it done so the Jews unfortunate enough to live under him would have fared very ill.

The attacks upon and expulsions of single communities generally left the greater number of the German Jews unmolested ; the honour of persecuting almost every Jew in the country was reserved for an Italian monk "John of Capistrano." His influence was as unbounded as his eloquence was impassioned. He had been "Overseer of the Jews" in Naples ; his principal duty consisting in trumping up false charges against that people and punishing them with the most pitiless cruelty ; his nominal function was to enforce the wearing of the Jew badge. This fierce and fanatical Franciscan travelled through the greater part of Europe on his self-constituted errand of inciting the people. His errand makes his universal power and popularity explicable. In Germany he wrought the greatest havoc upon the Jews ; the ashes of persecution, though still warm, were now stirred into the most intense heat. Every reverse a Christian army might sustain, every disaster or misfortune that ever came to a Christian nation or community he—with tears of passion and fanaticism in his eyes—attributed to Christendom's culpable dereliction in not persecuting the Jews with sufficient persistency ; every public trouble, every

calamitous occurrence was due to them. The German Israelites trembled at his very name and he was not inappropriately styled "The Jews' Scourge." Some towns were so convinced of the truth of his aspersions upon the Hebrew race, that they laid down the most ferine laws with which to regulate the existence of "their" Jews. Ratisbon rendered it an offence punishable at law for a Christian midwife to attend a Jewish woman. No success was great enough to appease the consuming hatred that the splenetic Capuchin evinced towards his victims. The parity between himself and the Bishop of Wurzburg was, together with his inducements, the cause of the prelate's revoking an edict he had issued granting "his" Jews plenary liberties, and of his expelling them from his large diocese. This was indeed a bitter blow, for enticed by the specious promises of this man, many Jews had emigrated to his diocese from different parts of Germany. Capistrano reserved his great *coup de main* for Silesia, to the clergy of which he had been deputed by the Pope to address himself on account of their gross debauchery and crime.[1] The entire clergy of Christendom was vitiated by every species of depravity and sin at this period, but Silesia appears to have possessed for leaders in religion the greatest criminals in Europe.

In Breslau Christian debts to the Jews were numerous and large, but on Capistrano's suggestion a very simple method to obviate their discharge was resorted to. Enquiries were instituted as to which of the Jews in the town kept the bonds of the remainder for safe keeping. It was elicited from a garrulous servant that his master Meyer had a large number of these documents ; a judicious gift led this servant to corroborate a charge that his master had by surreptitious means contrived to procure a "Host," which he had stabbed, outraged and then pounded in a mortar until the blood poured from it in a large quantity. This speculative charge was deemed sufficient to warrant the seizure and detention of all the Jews in the town together with their wives and children. Before any evidence had been heard on either side the entire Jewish quarter was confiscated to the city. Bonds

---

(1.) At no time in its history had Christianity more reason to be ashamed of its representatives than during the fourteenth and succeeding century. The Papacy had become a perfect hotbed of vice, the contagion of which spread over the entire clergy and was taken up even by the lowliest friar. Besides this there arose a most passionate strife between Pope and Anti-Pope, between one college of Cardinals and another, dividing the whole of Christendom into two huge camps and adding war to the evils by which its whole extent was distracted. It was only natural that the clergy should infect the lay world with their immeasurable dissoluteness and vice. The degenerate inhuman and degraded Christian communities of this period presumed to treat the virtuous and pious Jews as outcasts and accursed of God. "Graetz," Vol. IV.

of debt to the value of 15,000 florins were destroyed. Having thus assured themselves that they could not fail to profit by the case they proceeded to hear it. A tribunal was formed with John of Capistrano at its head. Being a past master in the art of demonstrating the guilt of Jews brought before him, he employed an erotetic process, that could not possibly fail to produce the desired confessions; he ordered the oldest and most infirm of the prisoners to be stretched on the rack. Maddened by the excruciating pain of the torture—the infliction of which John himself superintended—the poor old men blurted out all kinds of incoherent confessions of crime they had not committed. They had certainly either been terrified into insanity during their imprisonment or become so under the protracted torture. Everything they were asked they quickly admitted, every suggestion made to them of further guilt they affirmed directly the rack was pointed to. When Capistrano told them that this was the second "Host" they had insulted they could not deny it. When they learned from this Basileus of Israel's foes for the first time that they had tortured a Christian boy to death, they remembered the whole incident. John's forethought in profiting by their sufferings on the rack by letting his fertile imagination furnish him with indictments manufactured in the very presence of the arraigned was attended with the most tragic results. Hurled from the fangs of a Hyrcanian tiger and bathed in the poison of the deadliest cobras, these foul and death bringing charges, against a people, whose laws inculcate, nay loudly command, the exercise of humanity to the most insignificant creature, were firmly believed by the peasantry of the surrounding villages, who hastened to send their Jews to Breslau; upwards of three hundred Hebrews from the neighbourhood were thus sent into the city under heavy escort, there to share the fate of their fore-doomed brethren.

The deliberations of this farcical tribunal resulted in sentence of death being passed upon nearly fifty of the wealthiest of the prisoners, who were selected on the principal of "No bonds, no complicity," and in the "Salzring" were on June 2nd, 1463, publicly burnt to death to the delight of the spectators. Rabbi Phineas determined to die by his own hands rather than by those of the common executioner, but having no weapon hanged himself in his prison. All children under seven having been handed over to the monks, the parents were expelled from Silesia. John had the delight of seeing the inhabitants of three other Silesian towns burn their Jews; several were content with stripping them of all but their clothing and banishing them. The Emperor on hearing of Capistrano's successes expressed his unfeigned delight and ratified the earnest request of those towns, that no Jew should be again

allowed to reside in Breslau or the neighbourhood. "The Jews," he wrote to the Emperor, "have at last received the long delayed punishments their heinous crimes merited." The torvous Capuchin left Germany after witnessing the pillage and expulsion of the Jews of Olmutz and Brunn and went to Poland with the intention of effecting the revocation of a charter granted to them by Casimir IV, which conceded the rights of residence, free trade and religion, and securely shielded them from outrage at the hands of the clergy, who were severely admonished by the Emperor and forcibly restrained from inciting the people to attack them. The departure of the Franciscan from Germany in no way allayed the hatred of the people or alleviated the ever increasing miseries of the Jews.

A conspiracy was entered into by two Jew-haters ; Bishop Henry of Ratisbon, their most implacable foe, and Duke Louis were the names of these two formers of a malignant compact. At first extortions of vast sums by threats of lying accusations satisfied the venal Louis, but the Bishop advocated fiercer treatment, money could not satisfy his unbending and inexorable severity to the Jews who fell under his sway. He was noted for the exemplary punishment he meted out to Christians, who committed any infraction of the laws of the Lateran Council against the Jews. A Christian surgeon who had bled a Jew, a midwife who had covertly attended a Jewish woman and a female servant who had accepted a situation in a Jewish household were among the objects of his bitterest vengeance. Henry's whole conception of religion was the hunting down of Jews and other heretics : this was he held the duty of every good Christian and the crux of all faith.

Other matters were it appears subsidiary to this great and unequivocal doctrine. Is it to be wondered that the ignorant lower orders of the European nations, who were hopelessly and helplessly priest-ridden should hate and hound the Jews, when almost every pulpit in Christendom lauded their tormentors as exemplars of Christian faith and zeal and deprecated those who had moral courage enough to disparage their more vigorous brethren from the dreadful cruelties and outrages they were being continually impelled to commit ? The clergy of Germany especially threw their auditors into such violent paroxysms of fanatical rage, that they were oft themselves alarmed at the fury they had aroused ; often the people were unable to contain themselves and would during the service wildly rush forth upon the Jewish quarter. Hard indeed was the lot of the Jews, few their defenders, many their calumniators.

The Bishop of Ratisbon was determined to strike a fatal blow at the life of the Jewish community in that city by persecuting its

octogenarian Rabbi. His was to be the inception of a plan the consummation of which would entail the deletion of every Jewish congregation in Europe. The pious and learned old man, Israel Brunna, was charged by a vile Jew, who had apostatized from his faith, with having by some ruse obtained a Christian child of seven years of age. This he had fattened and then crucified in mockery of Christ's sufferings. Rabbi Israel was arrested and the local clergy demanded his instant execution without trial or sentence, and would have enforced their wishes had not the City Council interposed. The terrified renegade finding that the community had made representations to the Emperor, retracted his fabrication although not from any moral scruple; Vayol was banished "lest he fall into the hands of the revengeful Jews." The undaunted Bishop altered his plan of campaign and resolved to use the fever caused by the martyrdom of "Blessed Simon the Martyr," i.e. Simon of Trent, as the lever for effecting the ruin of this the most honoured community, next to Worms, in Germany. Wolfkan, a heartless Jew, who had embraced Christianity and had voluntarily transformed himself into that noxious and inexplicable anomaly, a converted Jew, was suborned to come forward with all that series of inane charges which forms the armament and armoury of these hybrid wretches—wretches, because to desert a weak camp in order to curry favour with a stronger one can only be described as the action of a wretch. His sole and unsupported statements were deemed of sufficient weight to cause the stationing of soldiers at the different exits of the Jewish quarter to prevent any of its inhabitants from escaping. The intentions of Bishop Henry became more perceptible, when every Jew and Jewess in the city, high and low, rich and poor, was seized, imprisoned and tortured to confess the guilt of innumerable crimes. The whole Jewish quarter was confiscated, a number of the prisoners executed and the whole community of Jews in Ratisbon would most certainly have met with a similar fate had not the Emperor, who resolved on political grounds to thwart the machinations of Henry and Louis, ordered their instant release and the immediate restoration of all goods taken from the Jewish quarter to their rightful owners. It is true that much gold was expended to procure even a hearing of their case, but the Bavarian Jews had given large sums for the release of their co-religionists in Ratisbon. The wound had been healed in one spot, but it broke out with equal virulency in others, for many small towns near Ratisbon, itself for the moment calmed, cruelly persecuted "their" Jews. Dettingen saw the execution of many on the flimsiest charges. Passau followed its example and murdered "its" Jews. A consecrated

"Host," so the citizens asserted, had been outraged by some Jews, who purchasing it from a drunken sacristan had pounded it in a mortar. All the customary wonders had attended the assault, against which the indignant Host had signified its disapproval by pouring out blood, and the wafer on being discovered gave many signs that implied a command to punish the guilty miscreants. The Bishop proceeded to requite the Jews for the perpetration of this impossible crime. He imprisoned as many as he could find and none of those so arrested ever emerged from captivity. Some he sentenced to be beheaded on the murderer's block by the common executioner, some he burnt to death by heaping lighted fagots upon them and the remainder were by order of this fiend torn in pieces with red hot pincers. So satisfied were the inhabitants of Passau of the justice of their bishop's action, that they, in order to perpetuate the memory of his zealous vengeance, erected a magnificent church on the spot of the executions, declaring that their having done so would testify their readiness to avenge any insults offered to their symbols. Ratisbon took heart again, the enthusiasm of the burghers in Passau encouraged them. They manufactured a story that some of "its" Jewish inhabitants had aided their co-religionists of the latter town in the fearful crime, for which they had just received such exemplary punishment. They were, they alleged, privy to the whole affair. Fortunately they had not forgotten the firm attitude of the Emperor during the recent outrages in that city, therefore those accused of immediate instigation only were arrested. Representations were made to Frederick, who instantly despatched a command ordering their immediate liberation. The City Council sent many emissaries, who all implored him for the honour of religion to sanction the punishment of the imprisoned, i.e., their torture and decapitation. The legates inveighed bitterly against the depravity of all Jews in general and gravely assured Frederick, that were the overwrought feelings of their fellow citizens not allowed its natural outlet, a general uprising would be imminent. Blandishments, arguments, covert threats, all were unavailing; Frederick however vemal he might be, would not countenance murder. He forbade the torture or ill usage of Jews whilst in prison, inhibited their execution or unlawful arrest, and fined Ratisbon, where disorder seemed endemic, 10,000 gulden for their disobedience of his orders. The delegates were compelled to subscribe their names to a document, which solemnly pledged them to treat the Jews of the city with equity and fairness. The disappointed deputies returning to Ratisbon informed the imprisoned Jews, that they were free, if they would pay that very fine for which their unjust sufferings had been condoned. Although they gasped for freedom,

some having been in confinement nearly three years, they replied that the sum in question was far in excess of their belongings and they were thus compelled to languish in dungeons until after the expiration of another two years, when they were released. Events of this description were so frequent in after years that they aroused no comment. Seeing that it was customary for bands to burst into the synagogues on the Sabbath, brandish knives in the faces of the affrighted worshippers and terrify them by other means, their lot was not favourable to their advancement in any sphere of life. Pent up in narrow and unhealthy lanes, contemned, hated, and hounded down, it needed very little provocation to murder a Jew. Alas! how many of our brethren have perished in the most frightful agony on the rack or the Iron Maiden, with the Jewish confession on their lips and clinging patriotism in their hearts, whom history has mercifully hidden from the view of their sons! How many of the bloodstains on the instruments exhibited in prisons of the Middle Ages as relics of barbarism are those of Jewish children is beyond the reach of human ken.

The Jew's pride in his history is no rhodomontade. Christians are indeed struck with admiration, when they remember the glorious exploits of a weak and scattered people, that has produced more heroes than all the mighty empires of the past, than the sons of Lelex or Romulus, or than the thousand portalled cities of the Pharoahs. Our glory has not been achieved in battle fields alone but in dungeons and torture chambers, Jewish patriots have not only died like Judas Maccabeus, sword in hand, but at the stake, surrounded by the devouring fagots lit by human bigotry; in swamps into which they had been thrown; in deserts where they were left to perish for thirst and their flesh to be torn by the jackals and hyenas. What a glorious history is that of Israel! what other nation but ours can point to such a lacerated existence, sustained by "Amor patriae?" What nation can show such a galoxy of parents to whom love of their children has been subsidiary to that of pride of race and national glory? Let any nation, not a small decimated one like the Jewish, but a vast empire, submit to the massacres, torments, insults, restrictions and sufferings, the Jew has undergone but for one century, and if that empire, though it contained millions of souls does not dwindle into an insignificant province, known only for its dearth of learning, if that nation still survives intact, still loyal to its own identity, still steadfast in the cause for which it has suffered, then it will merit an inscription written in golden letters upon the highest minaret of fame. What then must we say of a weak struggling people, without centre, without friend, persecuted by every nation, hated by all, a nation thousands

of whose members have been foully murdered in one day, a nation which has vainly sought the refuge allowed the very panthers and jackals that prowl the forest, a race the history of which has covered the records of men with shame and infamy, fearlessly upbraided Popes, Emperors, Kings and Cardinals by the bare unfolding of its tear-stained chronicles? What of that Nation? the nation that has survived all this and yet not lost its spirit, but is to-day both young and old, hoary but not tottering, that is yet the pioneer of every action that is good, ennobling and humane? Is not the story of such a people meet to be inscribed with jewelled letters upon the golden tablets of glory? What of a race any one of whose nineteen centuries of dispersion taken singly is sufficient to render it ineffaceable from the Scroll of fame? What of a scattered race that has preserved such a unity of custom and such a concensus of national thought, that has never been attained by nations under common guidance and one ruler? What must we say of that nation, my nation?

During the reign of the Emperor Maximilian, the German Jews passed a most chameleonic existence; at one moment he vigorously defended them against oppression and calumny, at another he took a most active part in harassing them. "During a certain period of his reign," says a curite, "they were in such constant expectation of the martyr's death that a special death confession, "Vedui," was drawn up for such cases, so that the innocently accused when summoned to apostatise could seal their confession with death and joyfully sacrifice themselves for the one God. The expulsion of communities, which though moribund through affliction had existed for centuries, was one of the most unjust actions this ductile ruler was induced into ratifying.

Halberstadt, a community possessing a Rabbinical College at which several hundreds of students were taught and maintained, was one of the first to suffer. The expulsions of Jews from German cities and towns during the years 1596-8 were more frequent than they had been even in 1492-6. Magdeburg, Colmar, Anhalt, Ulm, Nordlingen were some of the principal. Nuremburg in expelling "its" Jews and forfeiting the Synagogues, schools, property and personal effects of the victims, was but following the established rule, for the majority of cities that expelled them not only confiscated all they possessed, but its inhabitants even seized and desecrated the Hebrew cemetery, so desirous were the iracund people of wounding the Jews in their most vulnerable part—the veneration of their departed. In 1499 Ratisbon promulgated a regular system of oppression by which it was sought to drive the already distraught Israelites to deeds of despair that would merit their punishment. The bakers of the city formed a contract to

supply no Jew with bread whatever the amount offered for it, the millers pledged themselves to sell them no flour, the lawyers to accept no suit in which a Jew was to be defended. The friars paraded the street and squares of the city, publicly vituperating them and exhorting the people to molest and annoy them. The City Council forbade the Jews to enter the markets, or to purchase food during certain specified hours ; in short every injury and insult that could be inflicted by a large body of men upon a feeble minority was practised. One hardly knows whether to reprobate the clergy, who repeatedly assured all Jew tormentors of salvation, or the ignorant populace who used these clerical monitions as warrants for their excesses.

In 1505 three most unscrupulous and scheming men, possessing the lowest characters and imbued with the most virulent hatred of the Jews, determined to heap further opprobrium upon them by vilifying their literature. They were fortunate enough to discover an unnatural man, born of Jewish parents, who possessed a superficial knowledge of Hebraic literature. Hoogstraten, by ignoring the beautiful tropes and metaphors of the tralatitious Talmud, wrote several slanderous works, vehemently accusing that work of blasphemy, the inculcations of magic, and many other defects. John Pfefferkorn, in superintending the preparation and publication of these works had, as his primordial object, decided to revile the Jews and thus be instrumental in causing their renewed oppression ; this end he thought could be best accelerated by wilfully perverting the Rabbinical writings and translating obscure and effete passages in the Talmud with sophistical gloss, as also obfuscating by philosophic figments the myriads of humane and ennobling teachings and dicta. In suggesting the measure of punishment that had best be meted out to the calumniated, the maligners, desiring to propitiate a few orthodox Catholics, who though anxious for the Jews to enter the fold, still discountenanced inhumanity, made the following admission :—" The Jews are however to a certain extent human beings." A book published by this clique of vagabonds in 1509 was most fittingly called " The enemy of the Jews." In this venomous work the immediate and wholesale pillage and expulsion of the Jews was insisted upon as a religious and social necessity. Whosoever treated the heretic Jews well would be burned in the lowest regions of Hell ; those who oppressed and traduced them were " Christ's devoted followers." By this characteristic standard, fidelity to Christianity was adjudged, but the philo-Pfefferkorn party were only giving local expression to the trend of European thought on the Jewish question. The most degrading occupations only, such as that of scavengers were to be permitted them, they were not to hold any

post or be admitted to the professions or trade guilds ; the violent seizure and public destruction of all copies of the Talmud was commanded with the most truculent insistence ; it was sheer pusillamimity to tolerate the existence of books which impugned the character of Christ. The exertions and theories of Pfefferkorn and his adjuvant libellers procured for them a large and influential party. So potent did this body of corporate menacers become that the congregation at Frankfort were, whilst celebrating "The Feast of Tabernacles" in their synagogue suddenly interrupted by the entry of a body of City Councillors and prelates, who informed them that the Emperor Maximilian had invested Pfefferkorn with plenary power to seize all copies of the Talmud and burn them ; they were therefore commanded to deliver up all copies of the work on the ground that it contained blasphemies on Christ and Christianity and was subversive of true religion. They also expressed themselves as intent upon burning all copies delivered of this work—a work from which the greatest philosophers, jurists, theologians, historians, physicians and scientists have been compelled to draw—in the market square. It is true that Maximilian had been cajoled by his priest-ridden and anile sister into granting this permission to the Jewish Jew-hater, yet he should have informed himself of John's reputation and Hebrew knowledge ; he also should have perceived the ulterior motives that prompted Pfefferkorn's party. The Jew's firmly refused to obey this mandate and impugned its validity on the ground, that the Emperor himself had conceded to them the rights of their religious observances and these they contended would be seriously tampered with were the Talmud to be condemned. The Archbishop of Mayence on being appealed to strongly forbade his clergy to side with the anti-Talmudists ; Pfefferkorn however had the support and sympathy of the Dominican monks, who strained every muscle to effect the realization of their ambition, that is to witness the condemnation and burning of, not only the Talmud, but the whole vast fabric of Hebrew and Rabbinic literature. Yet his gigantic struggles and the assistance he received from the Dominicans were alike unavailing, for, though a censorship of the Gemara was established, it failed to discover anything in that plasm of Jewish thought of a deleterious nature, therefore all copies of the Talmud, which had been sequestrated were, by order of the Emperor returned to the original owners.

In 1510 Brandenburg attacked its Jewish residents with the chimerical accusation, that had already cost such torrents of blood. They had (so it was stated on the unimpeachable authority of a Middle Age mob) purchased a "Host" from a sacristan and had insulted it

with impunity ; the incensed wafer after being stabbed performed some hundreds of miracles. The Bishop of the diocese—a veritable Deza—needed no more, his life-long ideals were on the eve of consummation. He immediately despatched a sworn courier to the Elector Joachim, who was absent at the time, but who, on learning the meaning of the accusation levelled against the Jews, ordered the instant arrest of a large number. These were chained like galley slaves and led through the streets to be reviled by the mob. The triumphal march over, the prisoners, who were not informed of the charge laid against them, were led to prison without trial. Joachim ordered thirty to be racked ; after they had been relentlessly stretched upon the terrible frame, he offered them an easier and less painful end, if they would but abjure their religion. He solemnly conjured them to save their own bodies, assuring them that his decision to burn them, should they remain obstinate, was inexorable. Two of the prisoners spared themselves the horrible death to which they had been sentenced by dying with a lie on their lips, but the remainder disdained to purchase their lives by the degradation of their national honour ; they firmly refused to prostitute their ancestry and on July 19 (Tammuz 6th), 1510, were bound to the stakes erected in the public square and surrounded by thousands of heartless spectators, who eagerly scanned the faces of the firm and unmoved Jews, vainly seeking some token of trepidation and impatiently awaiting the first throe of agony ; but a few moments and the closing scene of this brutal tragedy was enacted. Amid the lurid flames, surrounded by the red angry swirl of the forked and glaring fires, perished these men sweetly chanting Hebrew songs, as if going to a bridal or some joyous festival. "Answer us for the sake of those who went through fire and water for the sake of Thy Name." So prays the Jew ! Who can impugn his claim to recite that prayer ? Dearly has he purchased that right. Thirty martyrs in one day ! Thirty Jews who sealed their confession of faith with their life's blood ! Thirty more links in the golden chain which binds not only an acentric people into one cohering community, but a glorious past with a glorious future. It is not without cause, O Israel ! that thou pointest to thy sons whose life's blood was freely given for thy prestige. Alas that thou didst need their lives to testify to thy honour ; could not their pure unsullied lives, their untarnished fame, their unsmirched character have all proclaimed thy fame, their immutable fidelity and constancy thy mission ? But in a record of blood and a story of tears what is to be found other than a plethoric roll of Martyrs ?

In February 1542 new misfortunes befell the Bavarian Jews. In the town of Eischstadt, a Christian had suddenly disappeared ; no

clue was discoverable excepting the foolish one that his blood was doubtless required by the "Jews," who were unable to ordain their Rabbis without Christian blood. The offshoot of this declaration was that the Bishop of the diocese, in which Eischstadt lay, ordered the immediate imprisonment of every Jew in the district under his tyrannical sway. This being accomplished he sent a pastoral to the rulers and ecclesiastics of the adjacent provinces, earnestly exhorting them to take emulous cognizance of his step, but he had over-estimated his strength. His arbitrary action evoked a shoal of pamphlets, many of which demonstrated with admirable lucidity the malicious motives and absolute disregard of truth and plausibility the anti-Jewish party evinced. Against these the Protestant clergy of the country directed a huge fusilade of vituperation fiercely accusing the Jews of every vice and defect known to mankind. Such acrimony attended the interchange of these antithetical dicta, that the leading spirit of the Reformation, "Martin Luther" himself, found it necessary to define his attitude towards the Jewish question. This he did by publishing a book, or rather a tissue of the most arrant and palpable falsehoods and perversions, which was characterized as much by a lack of all human instincts, as the author's reprehensible ignorance of the subject on which he presumed to deliver himself in such an authoritative way. The treatise "On the Jews and their Lies," a Pugio Fidei Redivivus, was written with such intense and undisguised ferocity, that it sounds more like a vigorous and general invitation to Christendom to repeat the frightful Jew massacres of 1096 and 1147 than a polemical work.[1] There was but one way to remedy the crying abuses of Christianity—a creed which then took self-aggrandizement and intrigue as the policy of its propagators. This was to destroy every synagogue in Germany, a deed which would redound to the credit of that country; no Jew was to pray, no Rabbi to preach, no Teacher to instruct. All the wealth of the Jews, so ran Luther's truculent programme, was to be confiscated and

(1.) "Scott" in his "Church of Christ" strongly defends Luther against the attacks of the Romanist writers and is rather inclined to gloss over his faults; but he says of Luther's standpoint towards the Jews (Vol. I. page 510), "He treated them kindly till he found them obstinate and argumentative and then he wrote with some severity against the Jews and their falsehoods. He thinks it useless to discuss the Christian mysteries with them; their prejudice and hardness are so great. He would rather employ arguments against them drawn from their circumstances during fifteen hundred years past, which were such as had been predicted by Jesus Christ and evidently showed the anger of God resting upon them. Nothing was to be expected from them till softened by their calamities; they should listen to the proofs that the Messiah was come. He is ready to sanction, not only stopping their revilings of Christ and his religion, but even depriving them of their books, pulling down their synagogues and compelling them either to labour for their substance or quit the country."

applied to pious uses, e.g., the support of baptized members of the Hebrew race. Those who were pagan enough to refuse the means of grace were to be treated without mercy, they were to be ostracised from society, of which they were the foremost and earliest constructors, and driven like lepers into barns and stables, there to be debarred all communication with Christians, whom they vitiated by their very speech. This formidable array of suggestions on how to best oppress them by no means exhausted Luther's list ; he went on to advise that no Jew should be allowed to travel, but was to be attached to the soil. They were to assist the peasants in the field, they were to plough and reap. Their wives might disport themselves by spinning wool for the clothing of good Christians, but to pray to the God of Israel was a capital offence worthy of death. This was of course only what he recommended to prevent the decrepitude of Society. "The Jews revile the Sacrament ; blaspheme Christ, the Apostles and all religion, they stab and crucify Christian children." In this furious strain he superadded to all those antiquated fables with which the Christians of 300 years ago were wont to condone the persecution of the Jews. Had Luther possessed the power of a Torquemada or a Valdez, not one Jew in Germany but would have been either forced into the acceptance of Christianity or burnt at the stake ; fortunately his voluble tirades against them fell unheeded upon the ears of the sovereigns who espoused the Lutheran tenets. They regarded his diatribes against his hated foes as vapid abuse, but in the plastic minds of the people he succeeded in implanting the bitterest antipathy to all things Jewish. "Know, dear Christian," said he, "that after the devil thou hast no bitterer foe than the Jew, who is intent upon being a Jew." Yet this man with his mind steeped in the blindest prejudices and seeking to impregnate mankind with that prejudice was the founder of a Church destined to be as vast as that of Rome herself. Hatred, the most intense, cavilling, the most despicable, are words that best denote the tenor of Luther's attitude towards a hounded people, whom he, as a champion of religion and the abjugation of priestly domination, should have been the first to defend. Against the flagrant vices of Popery and Catholicism, he freely aimed the poison barbed arrows secreted

(1.) "The labouring serfs who gave their vote were not much inferior in education or refinement to the ordained serfs, who canvassed for their favour. Abbacies, priories, bishoprics, parochial incumbencies, and all cathedral dignities were held by a body distinct from the feudal gentry. If some stop had not been put to the aggressions of the priesthood, all the lands in Christendom would have been absorbed by its insatiable greed, all the offices of the State would have been conveyed to sacerdotal holders, all Kings would have been nominated by the clerical voice alone, and freedom and progress would never have had their birth." *Dr. White, page* 220.

in his never depleted quiver; yet against the inhuman hatred of a homeless race, against the Canons and restrictions which denied to a scattered people the rights of mere existence, he never raised his voice. The sufferings of millions of persecuted people was no fitting theme for his fervid eloquence; dogmatic quiddities and quibbles were greater fields of distinction. Compared with doctrinal issues the liberty of the kinsmen of the prophets and apostles was a mere bagatelle. But his voice was raised on the Jewish question, to render their lot more insufferable, to ripen contempt into hatred, satire into violence, enmity into fanatical ebullition; for these and towards these ends he wielded his ponderous influence.

In 1595 a Jewish physician, who held a court appointment, was charged with having wilfully poisoned his master, the Elector Joachim. This was purely a reprehensible subterfuge by the consummation of which it was thought that the wholesale banishment of the Jews from Berlin would appear warrantable. There was not the slightest iota of evidence to establish the accusation. Lippold was therefore tortured to admit the veracity of this accusation which he had so firmly denied. In his agony the words desired to incriminate him were forced from his lips. The expulsion of all the Jews in Brandenburg was the outcome of a lie dragged from a tortured man. Brunswick, adopting a similar ruse, expelled its Hebrew subjects in the same year. The banishment of Jews from German States, provinces and cities is of such amazing frequency throughout this century that it is impossible in a small work to refer to more than a fraction of them.

A hundred years rolled over the heads of the German Jews, but their lot was as bad as ever, and their history continued to be a list of men and women oppressed and despised, tortured and slain. The gnome of Christian hatred and the grinning ghoul of religious bigotry each reared itself aloft, and with their eldritch shrieks froze the poor Hebrew's blood within him. It would have been anomalistic for a Jew to cross a street without being pelted or hooted after. Frankfort and Ratisbon, two pioneers in persecution, two veteran afflicters of the Jews, formulated a long series of laws which almost defined to what extent Jews were human beings and to what extent wild beasts. A Jew was not to speak loudly for two reasons, firstly it would be the arrogation of a privilege, which was not granted to infidels, secondly it might disturb the ruminations of Christians. Jews must not emerge from their congested streets unless they can assign a satisfactory reason; after nightfall they could not appear abroad under any circumstances. In the public places which they were allowed to frequent they were to deport themselves with the greatest solemnity, two must on no account

walk together. They must not talk whilst in the neighbourhood of the Town Hall or a Church. Laws were passed for nearly every word, movement and gesture of the Frankfort Jews;[1] what time they were to retire, on what days and on what hours they might buy food, what clothing they should wear. In fine were Mazas, Sing Sing, Newgate and Pentonville to be closed and the indwelling criminals released upon ticket of leave, no more hideous or degrading conditions could be imposed upon them. The continuous and legally instituted persecution of the Jews in Frankfort again culminated in a general outcry and uprising against them. Although the Burgomaster only possessed the power to expel any single family at will, without assigning any other cause than the gratification of his personal caprice, many influential citizens all members of the several corporate trades, petitioned him for the early expulsion of every Jew in the city. Their machinations for the attainment of this end were thwarted by the Jews producing Royal charters, granted them, for a consideration, by various sovereigns, but the zeal of 1348 imbued the lower orders. Every starved and worthless loafer, every ragged vagabond took up arms, and at a clandestine meeting appointed a certain "Vincent Fettmilch," a confirmed fanatic, as leader of the cause. The arrangements for a regular attack upon the Jewish quarter had been conducted with such secrecy that the Jews had no knowledge of the gathering cloud upon their gloomy horizon, that was to burst over their heads. The preparations of the infuriate Frankfort pastry cook's plans had not sounded one warning note.

Ellul 27th, (September 12th), 1614, was the day appointed for their execution. It was the Sabbath. Attired in their best, they proudly assembled to read their Torah, to forget for a moment their bitter tribulation, to commune with their prophets and men of God. Though each present had drunk deeply from the cup of sorrow, though each knew what adversity was, they triumphantly read the records of their past glory. Joy was depicted on every face, as with strained ear and bated breath, they eagerly caught every accent of the Chazan (precentor). It was truly a noble assembly, each heart throbbed for all, all hearts throbbed for one. Suddenly they were perturbed by the most uproarious thundering at the door of the Synagogue, the hourse vociferations, the oaths, the missiles which poured into the sacred edifice, all told them that the ghetto had been raided. On all sides fierce and unbending forces met them. The more stalwart Jews quickly armed themselves and determined to sell their lives only after a bitter resistance, but their assailants, who outnumbered them by at

(1.) The Frankfort Ghetto consisted of 190 houses in a street 12 feet wide; this had to accommodate 10,000 people.

least ten to one, soon had the Jews at their mercy and cruelly butchered them. Many who were unable to secrete themselves were slaughtered in cold blood, their houses robbed and destroyed, their sacred buildings razed to the ground, their Scrolls of the Law torn into fragments. All that night carnage and savagery continued until the next morning, when the murderers weary of their work ceased massacring. The mangled bodies, which had been stripped naked, the charred forms of the poor Hebrews did not attract any attention. The local authorities posted up a public notice[1] absolving the mob from all blame. The Jews who survived the fearful onslaught considered themselves fortunate to be allowed to leave Frankfort penniless, and, though Fettmilch, who proudly styled himself Haman II, had instructed his followers to place every obstacle in their way, with their lives. The more liberal Town Council at Worms beheld with genuine regret the great popularity of one Dr. Chemnitz, who had gradually acquired sufficient influence to defy, and even usurp, their authority. His programme which advocated the persecution and expulsion of the local community was the prime cause of his eminence. He initiated his anti-Semitic campaign by harassing the race he detested. Compelling the Trade Guilds to give compliance to his instructions, he prohibited their members from employing or serving members of the Jewish faith. He prevented the milkmen from selling milk for the use of Jewish children. Every action that could possibly tend to injure the Jews was unhesitatingly resorted to. He, at last, assembled all who sided with his views in the market square and there harangued them. The result was that the Jews were ordered to quit the city within one hour. Knowing that protest would only tend to further incense their foes, they on April 20th (22nd., Nisan), sorrowfully left their homes. Their noble synagogue building that had stood for a thousand years was hastily demolished, the cemetery desecrated and the tombs destroyed. So great had been the disorders in the two cities of Frankfort and Worms that ten days after the expulsion of the Jews from the latter city, the Elector Frederick Louis led an armed force into it to prevent any further rising. Nine months later they were readmitted to both these cities and Fettmilch hanged, thus meriting in more than one sense the agnomen he claimed. In Frankfort the old regulations concerning the Jews were rescinded and a fresh code drafted. They were more minute and in many portions much worse than those they superseded. Only a stipulated number were allowed to reside in the city and not more than twelve couples might marry in the year.

(1.) A notice was placed on a certain bridge in the city stating that Jews and dogs were not to cross it. Napoleon indignantly demanded its removal the instant he saw it.

In 1630 the Emperor issued a decree directing the compulsion of the Jews to attend sermons in which the superiority of Christianity was to be pointed out to them. Any Jew absenting himself from Church to escape the weekly sermon was to be fined. This sovereign interested himself very much in the schemes of the clergy for their conversion, but the methods he employed do not argue very eloquently in favour of his mildness. Yet when the folly of his cause was pointed out to him by the State Councillors he revoked his tyrannical enactment much to the delight of the Jews, who invariably fell asleep in their pews ; so we see that this system of forcing religion down their throats so strongly inculcated by Gregory XIII failed, for once at least, to effect its purpose.

January 15th, 1670, saw a revival of the long dormant charge of crucifying Christian children with the intention of using their blood in the Passover service. The only evidence was that a Christian child had disappeared. There wanted three full months to the Passover, yet the calumniators ignoring this, assiduously proclaimed that a Hebrew pedlar, Raphael Levi, had murdered the child at the instigation of the Metz community of Jews. This congregation was so highly esteemed for the moral worth and upright lives of its members, that King Louis XIV had held it up as a model for the emulation of the citizens. Several baptized renegades came forward and supported the accusers and averred that Levi was guilty. They furthermore asserted that to celebrate a Passover or ordain a Rabbi without Christian blood was in direct contrariety to the provisions of the Talmud. Poor Levi was racked to admit his guilt, in vain he protested his innocence, his touching entreaties to be confronted with witnesses of the alleged crime, his logical disproofs of the foul allegations were alike disregarded, he was sentenced by the Parliament of Metz (the city possessed its own jurisdiction) to be racked till he expired in agony. The martyr maintained his innocence to the last; the community made strenuous efforts to exculpate him from the charge, but Raphael had fallen into the hands of those to whom justice was no creed. Alas ! what folly ! they were attempting to drag an unblemished lamb from the pen over which hovered hungry eagles, who were waiting to swoop down upon it. At a later period the congregation of Metz had a yearly tax of twenty thousand livres to pay. Their number was not to exceed five hundred families and they laboured under many disgusting restrictions. In Strasburg for over four hundred years no Jew dare appear in the streets after nigh-tfall, nor dare one of another town remain over night. Throughout the province of Alsace they were trampled under foot. The resident Jews dared not absent themselves from this hell without

permission which had to be bought. The very cattle they killed were not to exceed a certain number. "Besides poll taxes, trade taxes, house taxes, contributions to churches and hospitals, war taxes and exactions of every sort under any other name, they were obliged to pay protection money to the King, for protection they did not receive, tribute to the Bishop of Strasburg and to the Duke of Hagenau, besides residence taxes to the nobles in whose feudal territory they dwelt."[1] "The privilege of residence did not descend to the eldest son, but had to be purchased from the noblemen, as if the son were a foreign applicant for protection. They had to win the good opinion not alone of the Lord, but also of his officers by rich gifts on New Year and on other occasions, whence could they procure all these moneys and still support their synagogues and schools ?"[2]

Many professional blackmailers studied Jewish literature for years with the intention of harassing its votaries and extorting money from them under threat of publishing sophistical perversions of the Talmud. The clergy wrote out false receipts for the benefit of Christian debtors to the Jews, and these being entrusted to accredited persons were given to those desirous of swindling the Jews. Feeling against them was so intense that representations were made to the King begging him to expel them. A Magistrate, who by a singular verity of nomenclature was named M. Hell, appears to have been the prime instigator of the application. He slandered the Jews with such militant zeal, that to prevent a general massacre of those whom he attacked, it was necessary to imprison him. He had published a book calling upon Christendom to extirpate the Jews for the crime of murdering God. "In the whole of Alsace, indeed in all the German departments of the Upper and Lower Rhine, the people were so embittered against the Jews that a general massacre and scenes such as were witnessed in the Middle Ages might ensue. In taprooms the question of slaughtering them was often discussed."[3]

A petition presented in 1787 on the accession of Frederick William II throws a light upon the position of his Jewish subjects in a century when culture was making rapid progress and when the rights of freedom and the outraged liberties of men were being gradually recognized. It contained a full list of the many cruel taxes to which they were subjected. They were compelled to purchase the commonest and most damaged porcelain for the highest prices from the State factories and this was derisively known as "Jew" porcelain ; they

(1.) Graetz, Vol. V, p. 369.
(2.) Ibid.
(3.) Ibid.

were compelled to pay heavy contributions to the Royal merchants by giving vast sums for the maintenance of their works ; of benefits they received none. A petition presented in 1801 shows that their sufferings had not been minimized. 1802 and 1803 saw a material improvement in their condition, owing to the presentation of a succession of petitions and the humanising influences of several broad-minded writers. The hideous and degrading poll tax,[1] by the operation of which the Jews, like dumb cattle, had to pay a certain amount when journeying. even in a neighbouring village, was in several provinces totally expunged from the statute book. In fact so many enlightened princes began to question the justice of hounding their subjects for no other reason than their opinions, that their traducers were struck with dismay. "What will be the result," they asked, "if the Jew is placed on the same level as the Christian ? He will soon oust him from every sphere of life." They were more contented with Frederick William III, who decreed that no Jews were to receive honourable or responsible posts. The main plan was to vivify all the vile slander of the Middle Ages in pamphlet form, they refurbished the old libels and inundated Germany with them. One corybantic writer asks, "What were the most wealthy Jews or their fathers twenty or thirty years ago ? " Hawkers who crawled about the streets in ragged clothes annoying the passers-by with importuning them to buy some yards of Potsdam hair or ribands, or rustics who, under the pretext of trading, stole into Christian dwellings and often did damage to the contents thereof." The course of treatment prescribed is atavistic to an alarming degree. "Not only must the Jews again be enclosed in a ghetto and be placed under a continual police supervision, not only should they be compelled to have a spot of noticeable colour upon the sleeves of their coats, but in order to prevent their increase the second male child of each Jew should be castrated." But these litterateurs lived a little too late ; their programme was out of date. How crest-fallen they were when one State after another emancipated its Jewish inhabitants, how chagrined when Frankfort, which had obstinately

(1.) The most disgraceful degradation and humiliation of the Jews consisted in the Poll Tax, an impost known in countries outside Germany. It existed principally in Central and West Germany in the districts of the Maine and the Rhine, where diminutive States bordered close on other diminutive States of the extent of a square mile and where turnpike after turnpike at short intervals presented themselves. If a Jew took a journey for one day he would pass through different territories and at the border of each would have to pay a poll tax. A Jewish beggar accompanied by his young son once exhibited his poll tax bill. which amounted to half a florin for six days' travelling, the sums which he had had to pay in various places. Very often the tax amounted to a few Kreutzers which only the poor, who were not exempt from it, felt as a burden and they even had to surrender to the public office the farthings obtained by begging. Graetz, Vol. V. page 493.

struggled to maintain the old regime, was so straitened for money that it was compelled to sell to the Jews the rights of religious and civil liberty. As each year passed some petty princeling, some noble mitigated in his dominions the severity with which "his" Jews had been treated; every month saw some barbarous custom relegated to the limbo of history. In many towns the old bigotry remained; in Strasburg for instance, where the citizens complained to Napoleon of the liberties of the Jews.

In 1811 Hamburg and the remaining "Hanse Towns," in 1812 Mecklenburg, and shortly after Prussia, released the Jews from the serfdom under which they had for so many centuries groaned. Bigoted Saxony became the cynosure of the remaining States, nothing could induce her to emancipate her Jews. Their position was quite intolerable, their residence, marriage, travelling, praying, in fact every action was ancillary to a code of laws subversive of all humanity. She alone resisted the abrogation of the debasing poll tax, when almost all other provinces had conceded it. The troubles of the Jews had not yet ceased, the ever recurrent outbursts of fanatical hatred had still to cause havoc. Shortly after the liberation of their Jews, many towns revoked the rights of citizenship so recently conferred. The voice of Frankfort, the seat of Jewish persecution, rang throughout Germany. Its shrill weird voice rose like a note from a hideous phantom and awoke the Jews, who were so jubilant over their newly attained freedom, from their visions of peace. The flame-belching dragon of Jew hatred had been mortally wounded, but when he fell he was inert not dead, he yet could emit many ear-splitting shrieks, he yet could fill his adversaries with tremor, rise again he could not, his blood was flowing fast, though he had not succumbed. The Leviathan would spend his last breath in a horrible roar, that roar the Hep! Hep! persecution we shall shortly refer to.

In 1815 Lubeck and Bremen emancipated the resident Jews; they had been two of the last and tardiest to do this and now they bitterly regretted it. They had partially amended the fallacious deed by withdrawing the rights granted shortly after the promulgation. August 2nd, 1819, and the few following days witnessed the familiar spectacle of an attack upon the Jewish quarters of Bamburg, Wurzburg, Meiniger and several other towns; students, tradesmen, loafers, members of the various guilds, in short a heterogeneous crowd fell upon the Jews and molested them, looted their shops and ransacked and demolished their houses. The Jews took up arms to defend themselves and many were seriously wounded and several killed on both sides. So grave had been the outburst at Wurzburg that, had it not been for the timely intervention of the soldiery, not one Jew would

have survived it, as it was the urgent representations of the citizens ended in the expulsion of the entire community. Within a week from the Wurzburg disaster the rabble of Frankfort, where hatred of the Jews was indigenous, fell upon those parts of the city almost exclusively peopled by them and wrought much mischief. "Hep! Hep!" the rallying word, the bugle note of this persecution heralded the pillage and maltreatment of the Jews. Contingents of troops had to be drafted into the riotous town before the storm, so long brewing, subsided. How little the soldiers repelled the onslaughts of the mob, or rather, how far they gave them overt encouragement is witnessed by the fact that during an anti-Jewish riot in Heidelberg, the city guard prompted by its Governor passively witnessed the scenes presented for their delectation. In Darmstadt and Bayreuth fierce attacks were made upon the Jewish residents. In Düsseldorf ominous marks were found upon the doors of the Jewish houses, accompanied by threatening and denunciatory notes pinned to them, which greatly terrified the Jews, "Death! Destruction to the Jews." "The Jew shall die like a dog," and similar exclamations were inscribed upon them. In Carlsruhe this was particularly frequent. "In the territory of Baden," says an authority, "the hatred was so intense that no Jew dared to appear in the streets, until an armed force appeared. Patrols swept through the whole province of Baden and every small town and village was made responsible for the attacks of certain of their members upon the Jews, therefore its fever gradually subsided. Even yet to occasionally storm the Jewish quarter, to invade a synagogue and tear the scroll of the Law to shreds was not sufficient to satiate the ineradicable desire to ill-treat the Jews. Whilst the specific policy of the fourteenth century was to kill them outright, that of the earlier portion of the nineteenth was to demoralise them by means of odious restrictions and untruthful aspersions. The prevalence of anti-Jewish literature alone sufficed to achieve that end. Our chief authority cites a passage from the book, "Mirror of the Jews," which says. "Let the children of Israel be sold to the English, who could employ them in their Indian plantations instead of the blacks. In order that they may not increase the men should be emasculated and their wives and daughters lodged in houses of shame. The best plan would be to purge the land entirely of this vermin by exterminating them as did Pharaoh (so much for the historical knowledge of Hartwig Hundt and the people of Meiniger, Wurzburg and Frankfort) by driving them from the country."

In 1840 the Damascus charge of "ritual murder" against the Jews reached Rhenish Prussia, for in the town of Julich, a little girl had besmeared herself with blood and following the instructions of her

prompters boldly accused a Jew and his wife of attempting to murder her. She added that she had witnessed the murder of an old man whose blood they quickly cupped. As this event took place in dangerous contiguity to Passover, a thorough and searching enquiry was instituted with the result that the girl finally confessed under a severe cross-examination that the statement was a gross calumny, planned by some persons who had paid her to make the lying charge. The girl and her prompters were adequately punished. How different would have been the result if in place of an intelligent and unbiassed trial the accused had been placed upon the rack and tortured to confess their guilt? Here we will end the outline of the sufferings of our brethren, though their sufferings in Germany have by no means ceased. What with the recent "Buschoff" case and the heartless expulsions from Konigsberg and Memel, they seem ever recrudescent.

Of the present position of the Jews in Germany it is difficult to speak. The purling stream of liberty has done much but has still much to effect in that country. The Jews there seem in a stage of constant transition. Anti-Semitism is a force still to be reckoned with; its presence has been anything but nugatory; its particular system is to attribute every evil to the Jews. "It is," says Mr. Joseph Jacobs in his valuable Jewish Year Book, "a curious combination of intolerance, envy and Chauvinism." Its leaders should be the most powerful argument against it. At the puny efforts of our German detractors we laugh. The mighty Empires of the ancient world have attempted to sweep us out. Popes, Emperors, Sultans, Caliphs, Kings, all have sworn to wipe out the Jew. We see how they have succeeded. Princes and generals with immense armies, with power, with influence, all have failed. Shall we then fear the anti-Semites, a set of men of whose private lives we are daily hearing more? It is true that the embroglio of Society affords a large scope for the machinations of these scroyles and vilifiers, who have made of their bigotry a political factor, but they have to contend with the adverse criticism of the culture of Europe, which loudly condemns any approach to racial or religious antipathies.

In this chapter we have not aimed at completion, we have but been able to adumbrate the sufferings of the German Jews through eight weary centuries. We have not spoken of the Massacre of Jews at Erfurt, (1221), Frankfort (1241), Weissemburg (1270), of the massacres of Xanten, where three hundred were murdered, Rosenheim, Dessau, Mannheim and numerous other towns. We have not spoken of one tithe of the outrages, false accusations, oppressive laws, cruel expulsions and confiscations under which they groaned!

CHAPTER IV.

Excesses practised upon the Swiss Jews in 1348 and 1349 on account of the Black Plague.

O Hecates! O Harpylae!
What have my race e'er sinn'd 'gainst ye?

THE most beautiful casket oft contains the deadliest poison; the most bejewelled robe oft covers the most corrupt heart. The history of Switzerland, a country that seemed to breathe peace and freedom, calls this apothegm to mind. Beneath her beautiful scenery, how have the innocent suffered! every beautiful vale and glade has mutely witnessed the shedding of guiltless blood, every romantic crag, every lofty peak in that picturesque land of poetry has heard the shriek, every one of her lovely woodlands, every magnificent landscape has been the grave of some martyr. The tourist crosses the Alps and is struck dumb with surprise at the inapproachable beauty of the wild and rugged scenery; yet does he know that it is but the merciful lapse of the centuries that prevents him from hearing the surging multitudes leading noble men to their unmerited death? In its place he sees the lovely rose or hears the musical sighing of the winds.

Of doubly grave importance is the history of the persecution of the Swiss Jews, for from that country it went forth to the peoples of Europe that they had admitted (it was not stated under torture), that their religion distinctly inculcated well poisoning, child crucifixion and the several charges, which in the dreadful year 1348 caused the wholesale massacres of the French, German, Spanish, Belgian, and Italian Jews, as primordial tenets of Judaism.

Directly the charge of poisoning the wells and hastening the approach of the Black Plague had been promulgated, Amadeus, Duke of Savoy, imprisoned a number of Jews resident in Chillon and Chatel. In order to extort a confession of guilt (or at least complicity), three Jews and a Jewess were racked. They became most prolix in their

statements, owing to the intense and excruciating agony they had endured, and admitted having perpetrated crimes, which, were the subject not so dolorous, would most certainly create ridicule. Whatever they were asked they affirmed and even supplemented the statements of their interrogators, fearing that if they did not invent fables the tortures would be repeated. Their fears were well founded, for a week later the youngest Jew and his captive mother were again placed on the rack. They admitted having poisoned numerous wells in Italy and Spain, though it was well known to the commission of judges, that neither of them had ever crossed the confines of Switzerland ; yet all the prisoners were as a result of these lying confessions burnt alive at the stake by order of the Duke, who personally superintended the massacre. The Savoyard Jews were treated in the same way, meeting martyr's death almost to a man. Throughout Switzerland they were legally sentenced to be burnt to death. In many towns the inhabitants before binding their Jews to the stake tortured them to make them confess the committal of some imaginary crime, which existed only in the minds of the maddened interrogators. At Chastelard, Zafingen and Berne, all confessed whatever was suggested to them and on these admissions, extorted by the rack and the blazing fire, it went forth that the Jews were self accused well-poisoners. At Berne a Jew was heavily loaded with chains and sent under a strong guard from town to town, it being everywhere officially proclaimed that both he and his co-religionists had caused the plague by which all Europe was convulsed. This was done to incite the towns through which the convoy passed to massacre them. Zurich burnt its Jews *en masse*, firmly believing in their complicity in the acceleration of the Black Plague. Tribourg drowned the entire community after binding them in pairs. During the same month (September, 1348), the Town Council of Constance sentenced the Jews under its jurisdiction to be broken on the wheel limb by limb, assigning as a general reason the great number of their wicked deeds. The method of slaughtering upon the wheel is to smash the hands and arms, thighs, legs and feet upon the especially erected wheel, round which the victims were strapped, with a ponderous iron bar wielded by a brawny executioner. In mercy for the sufferers a blow on the chest (*coup de grace*), which immediately kills, is given. At Schaffhausen the whole Jewish population, rich and poor, high and low, were roughly seized by order of the municipal authorities and after being bound to a number of stakes erected in the public square, fagots were piled around them and they were roasted alive. A similar doom befel the Hebrew congregation of St. Gallen, the entire body falling as

martyrs. At Lindau and Uberlingen the very children were burnt together with their parents. At Basle was enacted the darkest tragedy of all. The entire congregation of Jews numbering many hundreds were compelled to enter a colossal wickerwork cage into which were cast all their communal and personal belongings ; and the order being given and the torches applied, the whole was soon a heap of ashes—so much for the religion of love and humanity. Throughout Switzerland, the Savoy, and the Geneva districts, the Jews were either burnt or broken on the wheel. A few contrived to elude the watchers and fly to the caverns among the hills, where they fed on roots and barks until they died in delirium from thirst and exposure.

After the frightful holocaust of Basle Jan. 9th, 1349, the local authorities contented themselves with exiling a few of the most prominent ringleaders of the massacre, but the inhabitants of the town indignantly insisted upon their recall. The demand was conceded. The Council of Basle which re-modelled and re-enforced the canonical provisions against the Jews (September 1434) had good cause to select this notorious town for the seat of its bigoted deliberations.

It would seem as the very irony of fate that the Congress should have assembled in Basle, says the Jewish Chronicle of September 3rd, in its able article on the Zionist Congress, "for is not," it continues, "Basle in Switzerland and did not anti-Semitism break out in a very pronounced form a few years ago, when through persistent agitation Shechita (ritual slaughtering) was prohibited in this country. ?" So we see that hatred of the Jews still lurks in Switzerland.

CHAPTER V.

Some Incidents in the History of the Belgian Jews.

I see them yonder of their eyes bereft,
And there their mangled limbs in twain are cleft;
Beneath the winepress are their bodies drawn,
Crushed, drowned, or with harsh sallies asunder sawn.

Eleazer, in his "Elegy on Zion."

OUR indictment of this country is, as our last chapter, very short, but its brevity does not minimize the terrible excesses that are vouched for by many historians of unimpeachable authenticity. Had the period of Jewish residence there been a longer one or the communities of Jews larger and more numerous, there is not the slightest doubt, but that Belgium and Switzerland also, would have had more of the terrible Middle Age massacres of Hebrews to stain by no means bloodless chronicles.

During the progress of the Black Plague, for the fictive guilt of effecting which so many communities throughout Germany, France, Spain, Portugal, Italy and other countries of Europe were deleted from existence, the Belgian Jews did not escape. The populace of Brussels loudly asseverated their determination to avenge their sufferings upon the Jews, whom they held directly responsible for the prepollency of the ravaging scourge. Several influential Jews who were in high favour at Court had succeeded in averting the consummation of the furious resolution seething in the minds of the people. They obtained a mandate from John II, commanding that the Jews should be unmolested, but his son the Prince Royal assured the leaders of the mob, that his voice alone would amply suffice to shield them from his father's vengeance and he strongly urged them to slaughter the Brussels Jews. The citizens were not remiss in availing themselves of the laxity with which they had been assured their crime would be treated. Following the course so strenuously advocated by their youthful admonitor, they pounced upon the Hebrew quarter of the

city and dragging the whole community of above five hundred members into the most public streets, with unsheathed sword and uplifted axe, the demoniac men gloated over the sufferings of their defenceless and persecuted fellowmen, hacking them to pieces with their murderous hands. The air was rent with the shrieks of wounded and the groans of the dying; so perished five hundred innocent human beings. Some twenty years later (1370), the city of Brussels was the theatre of more outrage. A Jew named Jonathan of Brussels—so the story which all good Catholics are enjoined to believe with perfect faith and without further inquiry runs—was commissioned by the Jews to procure a Sacramental Wafer they, having determined to appease their wrath against the Christians by insulting and then pounding it in a mortar. He bribed John of Louvain, a very poor Catholic, to purloin one from a contiguous church for the sum of sixty louis d'or. John in pursuance of his undertaking stealthily crept into the Church of St. Catherine and broke into the sacristy. He removed the "Host" together with the pyx that contained it and gave them to Jonathan the Jew. The chronicle which relates this villainous fabrication is frequently interpolated by requests that the good Christian reader will receive all related as truth, for "Charity believeth all things!"[1] Jonathan conveyed the inestimable treasure to the synagogue, where the Jews of the city already apprised of the ceremony to be performed had assembled. The pyx was solemnly opened and the Sacred Host elevated, when it was profaned and blasphemed. It was then secreted for their further delectation on the approaching Good Friday. On that day the whole Jewish population of Brussels, men, women and children, assembled in the synagogue to witness the awful desecration of the sacrament about to take place. The Host was first stabbed by the elder Jews, who used their knives, when lo! blood poured freely from the gashes inflicted, but the Jews remaining unmoved and unaffected resolved to continue the dreadful deed, until at last becoming weary they dispersed and returned to their homes.

Of the numerous German communities that made application for the wounded host, Cologne was awarded the honour of becoming its recipient. To a woman who enjoyed the unsuspecting confidence of "the blasphemers" was relegated the duty of conveying the wounded but now convalescent divinity to that town. She had however unknown to her co-religionists turned Catholic and during the night preceding her intended departure, her hitherto inert conscience reproached her so loudly for her complicity in the fearful transaction that, she

(1) See Milman in loco 1883 edition of "History of the Jews."

immediately roused the Bishop of the diocese and acquainted him with the whole affair. All the Jews discoverable were at once arrested and as a preliminary cruelly tortured in punishment of their misdeed. Then followed the trial, the part of the chief prothonotary being played by the rack. Learning that they would remain bound on the frame till they made plenary confession, the maddened victims repeated the lying confession dictated to them by their judges, who were nearly all ecclesiastics. The dreadful sentence was passed more quickly than the evidence had been extorted. All the Jews in Brussels, large and small, young and old, were to be seared with red hot irons, torn with fiery pincers and then burned alive. The wounded Host, which no one was allowed to see, was supposed to be contained in a sealed box. This was for centuries borne through the town in a yearly procession in which hundreds of priests, monks, friars, and high Church dignitaries took part. Till within the memory of some of our readers this shameful display was annually made, attended by all the pomp and pageantry of a religious celebration. Dark rumours accused the woman informant of having been no Jewess but a courtesan and an unscrupulous liar, who was hired by the bishop—himself privy to the transaction—to thus justify his outrage, by asserting her connection with an affair which in all probability never occurred. "The picture of their sufferings as they writhed on the stake is exhibited with horrid coolness or rather satisfaction in the book of the legend. And this triumph of the faith supported—it is said—by many miracles is to the present day[1] commemorated in one of the first Christian cities in Europe."[2]

(1) This was written in 1829.

(2) Dean Milman, "History of the Jews," Vol. III.

CHAPTER VI.

Persecution of the Austrian Jews.

Thy faithful sons whom thou in love hast owned,
Behold ! are strangled. burnt. and racked and stoned ;
Are broken on the wheel ; like felons hung,
Or living into noisome charnels flung.

Eleazer, in his "Elegy on Zion."

HERE, as in Germany, it is with the Crusaders that the Jews enter into the wide arena of suffering. To locate the various cities and towns referred to has been in this and also in Chapters II and III a question of some consideration to us, owing to the difference of the political arrangements then existing to those now in vogue. We have for instance referred to Alsace in the German chapter; our rule has been to adapt ourselves to the historical circumstances. Under the above heading we shall also treat of Bohemia and Hungary.

The Crusaders after their awful slaughters of the German Jews traversed Austria and Bohemia with pitiless cruelty, everywhere signalizing their approach by the most horrid and wholesale outrages. Numbers terriffied beyond all measure professed to have abjured Judaism, others were dragged to the font and forcibly baptized. A few influential prelates, courtiers and nobles, bitterly deprecated the terrible deeds wrought under their very eyes, but they were powerless to stem the overwhelming tide of blind fanaticism.

In 1098 a large number of Bohemian Jews, who had with the pike at their breast accepted Christianity, availed themselves of the Emperor Henry IV's permission to discard the hypocrital cloak, the adoption of which had saved their lives, but so furiously did Pope Clement III declare his word to be void, that Wratislav considered himself safe in plundering them of all their belongings and ignominously thrusting them all out of the country.

In 1231 the decrees of the Fourth Lateran Council were ratified at Tours and many fiendish measures throughout Austria were the direct outcome of the "Code." Frederick I, Duke of Austria, treated his Jewish subjects with great consideration, but his attitude towards

them was regulated by state-craft rather than considerations of humanity. At a later period Vienna set all Austria the example of legally degrading the Jews. The Council of that city decreed that they should all wear a high pointed horned cap in the shape of a cone, in addition to the badge prescribed by the canonical statutes concerning the Jews, (1267.) In 1279 a Council at Ofen, consisting chiefly of Hungarian delegates, approved of a long code of truculent laws dealing with the Jews. "No Jew," it was ordained, "was to hold a post of public trust or honour." Any noble or churchman employing a Jew in the management of his affairs was to be severely reprimanded, a Bishop or any high ecclesiastical functionary would be suspended from the exercise of his clerical privileges. Failing to discharge the Jew after this, he was to be expelled from the Church. This law, laid down to provide for the several degrees of relationship between Churchmen and Jews with such finical exactitude, shows the dependency of the former in all monetary matters upon the skill and adeptness of their Hebrew servants. A Noble or any private person would not be admitted to Holy Communion, if he held commerce with Israelites, and in extreme cases he might be placed under the Anathema of the Church. The question of a Jewish badge for Hungary was fully discussed, and it was finally decreed that every Jew of either sex, residing on Hungarian soil, should be compelled to wear a distinctive mark of red saffron colour on the left breast. The shape was to be that of a wheel and to appear without it—being an infraction of the Law—was to be severely punished. Poland, also represented on the Council by several prelates of high standing, adopted the drastic decisions of Ofen. Both these countries had hitherto accorded, not alone to the Jews, but to all dissidents from Catholicism, the most complete toleration and religious latitude, neither of them ever evincing racial antipathy and this sudden transition of feeling towards members of different creeds has been universally ascribed to the increasing and indefatigable exertions of the "Friars Penitent," whose influence was daily growing more marked.

In 1232, King Andreas of Hungary was, together with the King of Slavonia, compelled to swear, never to place any of their subjects professing the Hebrew faith in public offices. Andreas bitterly resented the Papal decree (which also directed the vigorous enforcement of the Jew Badge), and only when his throne was perceptibly tottering and his hold over the Magyar nobility was daily growing weaker, was he coerced into taking the desired oath before the Legate of Gregory IX.

In 1329 Ladislaus IV formally ratified the programme of the "Council of Ofen." In 1340 Louis King of Hungary proceeded to

the last extreme and, from no other motives than those of religious narrow-mindedness, expelled every Jew in his domains. Fortunately the neighbouring States were not in favour of such arbitrary measures. Louis had offered to revoke his mandate if the Jews would embrace Christianity, but with the lofty spirit of self abnegation, which is the indubitable characteristic of the race, they chose to submit to expatriation by the tyrannical decree of their despotic sovereign rather than renounce their ancestry.

In 1349 the "Black Death" cry against the Jews, accusing them of poisoning the wells and fountains reached Austria. In September of that year the population of Krems, where a large and ancient community of Jews existed, banded together with the inhabitants of the adjacent villages and flung themselves upon the Hebrew quarter. The poor trembling Jews, seeing the fierce faces of their scowling foes, who were panting for their blood, assembled in their houses, and voluntarily setting fire to them, arrayed themselves in their praying garments (Talisim) and in one frightful holocaust wrenched away the prey from the crowds that beset them. The small neighbouring commuuity of Stein finding itself in similar straits also kindled a large fire in the synagogue and destroyed itself. Have the sons of Israel testified their allegiance to their nation with their blood? Let their detractors answer me! Did my ancestors pale when flames enveloped them in the garments of imperishable fame and immortal glory?

In Vienna the Jewish quarter was encompassed by the rabble and matters had come to such a pass, that the whole body entered the synagogue to consider what was to be done in this their last strait. The tears, shrieks and lamentations of the mothers, who in despair dashed out the brains of their children, the agony of the men who witnessed the terror of their distraught wives and daughters, was indeed awful. The Rabbi, a noble old man bent with study and wrinkled with age, a man whose patriarchal mien and patriotic heart might have melted the soul of a tyrant, harangued them in impassioned and heartrending language and urged them to strike the inevitable blow. Acting upon this advice they slew each other to a soul.

On April 18th, 1389, Prague saw a savage attack upon the Jewish residents in that city. A vapid and impalpable charge, that a few Jewish children had thrown dirt at a priest, who was bearing the consecrated wafer to a dying person, was the ostensible cause, but the real origin was of a very different hue. The priest with great assiduity loudly shouted in the street that the children had been instructed by their parents to thus profane the Host. A huge and savage mob bent on vengeance invaded the Jewish quarter and offered the inhabitants

the choice between death or the acceptance of Christ, but the Jews, many of them perhaps deemed incapable of an heroic act or noble thought, many of them hawkers and followers of other despised avocations, set posterity an example of valour, that is well worthy of their admiration ; they unanimously rejected the price asked for life. Not one soul in that vast concourse of doomed men, whose tenure of life could now be measured by a hair, sought to prolong his existence by perjury. Swarming multitudes were bathed in their own blood. Scores of heroic prolicides, fired by the example of their aged Rabbi, stabbed their wives and children ere they committed suicide. White haired and venerable old men, men whose high character and unstained repute had ever been the theme of their very foes, whose vast learning and erudition apart from their eminent piety, had awed their own co-religionists, enveloped their proscribed bodies in their Talisim (praying shawls) and said "The Rock! His work is perfect", and with these words breathed their last. O Men of Israel, what are the deeds of the nations to you? What interest have we in strangers? Does not our own glorious history eclipse every other? Yet how few of us take cognizance of it, we read of every nation and people but our own. We might also slightly vary the awful words addressed to Cain and say, "The voice of the blood of thy brethren cries to me from the earth." Who of our modern Jewish youth ever thinks of this dreadful scene in Prague; where for a whole day and through the following night the blood of those, who thrice daily proclaimed the Divine Unity of God, streamed in the streets like a river that had overflowed its banks? How many of us ever reflect on that blood, and on that day when the very cemetery was polluted and the bodies of our fathers, who had (finding rest only in the tomb) slept for years, were disinterred and scornfully thrown to the dogs as foul carrion? What of that fateful 18th April, when the piles of Jewish corpses that barricaded the streets were stripped stark naked and then flung into a huge bonfire. What about the day when the synagogue, a building that had stood for centuries and ever witnessed the harrowing vicissitudes of its sons, was demolished in one short hour? What about that fearful banquet of blood? I ask, O Christianity, so thirstily quaffed by your loving votaries? Show your bloody records! produce your chronicles stained with the blood of my compatriots, hide not nor seek to minimise nor deny, the stirring heroism of those glorious patriots and sons of Israel, who have been hounded, tortured and slain in thy name and in the presence of thy cruentate symbols from the sons, who thirst to hear the dulcet accents that shall tell them the deeds of their forefathers. O hide it not from them! unload thy sinful bosom to those who so

bitterly realize that every right they enjoy, every privilege accorded them, every dulcifying note in the melody of their peaceful lives has been but bartered to them for the lives of their ancestors.

During the Hussite wars the Austrian Jews suffered the most acute misery, the Catholic troops marking them out for special maltreatment and classing them as adherents of the courageous Czech. The report that the Jews had supplied the Hussites with money and arms was the instauration of a fierce and widespread persecution from Bavaria to Bohemia. Bloody indeed for the Jews was the march of the Catholic hosts through Austria, and hecatombs of Hebrews fell victims to the insatiable thirst for innocent blood. Why should we deny the charge? Is it not like the labours of Sisyphus to disprove a calumny upon the Jews? It was with outspoken but consistent regret, that the Dominican monks of Austria witnessed the gradual cessation of what was in itself but an ebullient and temporary outburst of rage. To do them injury the clergy, ever fruitful in device had for once at least no need to tax their devilish ingenuity and cerebral fecundity, for a propitious circumstance put into their hands the necessary lever to arouse the waning desire for slaughter from its lethargy. Some Viennese children went to play upon the ice, this unfortunately broke and three of them were drowned. To comment upon this dolorous occurrence to the detriment of the Jews was not enough, they fired off the old dual fusilade of "Ritual Murder" and "Host Outraging." Of the first it was sedulously bruited about, that the three children had been murdered to supply blood for the impending Passover; concerning the second, the community at Ems was charged (by tools of the monks) with purchasing a sacramental wafer from a woman, having free access to the sacristy, and on their stabbing it much blood gushed from the wounds. A Jew and Jewess of Ems were despatched to Vienna and there tortured to confess their guilt and then killed. On the 23rd May, (14th Sivan) 1420, all the Jews under the rule of the Archduke Albert of Austria were by his command seized and imprisoned. Their entire possessions, clothing excepted, were confiscated. "In the gaols wives were separated from their husbands and children from their parents. The more resolute slew themselves and their kinsfolk by opening their veins with straps and cords or whatever they found handy for the purpose. The spirit of the survivors was broken by the length and cruelty of their imprisonment; their children were finally taken from them and immured in cloisters. Still they remained firm and, on the 14th March, (9th Nisan,) 1421, after nearly a year's confinement, they were committed to the flames."

In Vienna alone more than a hundred perished in one field close by Eidelberg on the Danube. A further order was then issued by Archduke Albert, forbidding Jews to stay thenceforth in Austria. How attached the Austrian Jews were to their religion is shown by the conduct of one clever youth. "Having received baptism he had become the favourite of Duke Frederick, afterwards the German Emperor, but although surrounded by every luxury, he became seized with remorse for his apostasy and boldly expressed his desire to return to Judaism. Frederick exerted himself to dissuade his favourite from this idea. He begged, entreated and even threatened him, he sent a priest to advise him ; all however was in vain. Finally, the Duke handed the "obstinate heretic and backslider" over to the ecclesiastical authorities, who condemned him to the stake. Unfettered and with a Hebrew song on his lips, the Jewish youth mounted the scaffold."[1]

The Jew-denouncing, man-hounding excursion of John Capistrano through Europe led him into Austria at an early date. In Bohemia his eloquence resulted in the furious persecution of many Jewish communities. In Silesia whither he had been despatched to reclaim the clergy from the frightful licentiousness and debauchery of their lives, his virulent facundity taught the people of the towns and villages to be continually finding bleeding Hosts scattered over the country roads abutting the centres inhabited by Jews. The invariable and ineludible fate of the burning of those suspected was as sure as the absence of all trial.

In 1542 the Jews of Bohemia were by decree of the National Diet expelled the country ; a number of untenable pretexts, accusing them of "misdeeds" in vague and general terms, was assigned for this cause.

In 1559 a heartless incendiary kindled a fierce fire in the Jewish quarter of Prague ; none attempting to save the burning piles. They were offered, together with a large number of their inmates, as a propitiary offering to the God of the Christians. The Prague mob seized those of the women and children that had become insensible through terror and flung them into the fiercest part of the fire. The year following, the Emperor Ferdinand[2] issued a code of anti-Jewish laws stipulating the rights and burdens of the Jews with finical accuracy. In 1561 he expelled large numbers of Jews who had been allowed to

(1.) Graetz.

(2.) It was he who first introduced the tickets of notification or permits for the Jews of Austria. He made a regulation by which every Jew resident in Austria, who went to Vienna on business should at once on his arrival announce himself to the land Marshal and state what was his business, and how long he intended to remain in the place. Graetz, vol. iv., page 63.

resettle in the various towns from which they had been expelled. They were not again expelled from Austrian territory until 1670, when a general banishment took place.

The Empress Margaret, having on one occasion recovered from a serious accident, knew of no better way to thank Heaven than to obey the instructions of her confessor by constantly dinning into the unwilling ear of her royal spouse the paramount necessity of expelling the unbelieving Jews from his country. Loth as he was the Jesuit-ridden woman prevailed, as had done Kunigunde over Maximilian. By proclamation of the Court heralds the Jews were directed to at once quit Vienna; to the remaining Jewish communities of Austria was granted a brief respite. The victims of this fierce decree showed that they had purchased the inalienable right of residence and also that they had been compelled to pay an extraordinary tax of 10,000 florins annually to the Crown, in addition to annual sums of money euphemistically called "Presents to the Emperor;" but his determination, or rather that of his wife's confessor, was irrevocable. Leopold converted the synagogues and houses of learning into churches and sold the Ghetto for 100,000 florins. A dearth of commerce was the result and it made itself so painfully obvious that Leopold was heartily glad to allow the Jews to resettle in his domain, to which they immediately flocked after fifteen years' absence from their homes.

The Austrian "War of Succession" was another period of grave anxiety for the Jews, now under the rule of that versatile woman Maria Theresa. Because the contemporary Prussian monarch refused to tolerate the open murder of members of the Hebrew race, he was called a Jews' protector, an agnomen of the most contemptuous description. The Austrian Jews were accused by the public voice of posting their Royal friend, as to the plans and dealings of the Austrian army. Those of Moravia were fined 10,000 Rhenish gulden in punishment for this offence and informed that, were the money not produced in six days, every Jew found in Moravia on the seventh would be slaughtered. After strenuous exertions had been made to render the issue of this threat nugatory, the Empress intervened and prevented the consummation of this outrage; as a counter-balance to this she published an order which decreed the banishment of the Moravian and Bohemian Jews. Ruthlessly indeed was the mandate executed. Prague expelled its Jews in the depth of winter and over twenty thousand human beings were compelled to wander from town to town nomad-like, ere they could procure rest and food owing to the existence of a fiendish order, which forbade Christians giving the wanderers any assistance. Maria Theresa was induced by several of her trusted advisers to discard the practice

of periodically expelling Jews from different centres as being a policy antagonistic to the best interests of her State. She retaliated upon her own action by imposing heavy restrictions upon them. Only one son in each family was allowed to marry. The constant tension and apprehension under which the Austrian Jews of this period lived was more hateful and degrading than the severe attacks of the rabble in the preceding reigns.

In 1782 the Prague anti-Jewish party published a vile and calumniating pamphlet, which set forth every charge made against the nation during the past seven centuries. Its publication, the Emperor Joseph II foresaw was fraught with such danger to the Jews, that he ordered its suppression before it had been broadly disseminated : Yet even under his reign, a reign in which many liberties and concessions were granted them by the tolerant Emperor, who sowed the seeds of future complete liberty for the residents of Austria professing the Hebrew faith, and till a much later period, the Jews of Austria, Moravia and Galicia, together with those of other provinces were heavily taxed, as a distinct body, for every imaginable article they possessed and the concession of every right they did not enjoy. In addition to a Jew Tax on candles, wine, meat and wax, a tax upon every Jew either entering or leaving Vienna was made. Those entering the city were compelled to register themselves and account for their presence. They were under the supervision of the police and treated like convicts on license. Joseph II, among other rights conferred upon the Jews, permitted them to enter their children in the Christian schools and to shave themselves ; hitherto they had been forced by law to grow beards. The larger part of their emancipation dates from his "Edict of Tolerance (Jan. 2nd, 1782)."

During the reign of the Emperor Francis II, the advice of Metternich, the Prime Minister, was the cause of many evil provisions being formulated against the Jews. As in Germany, certain narrow, cramped and unhealthy streets were in each city and town assigned them for residence ; these they might only emerge from on stipulated conditions. In certain of the larger Bohemian towns they might only stay over night. In others they were not allowed to enter even for an hour.

We will now close this brief outline, but we cannot do so without adding that the banal doctrines of anti-Semitism have spread their blasting wings over Austria, a country whose attitude to her million Jews is a matter of grave importance to all interested in the Jewish question.

CHAPTER VII.

THE VATICAN AND THE JEWS.

Oh, sad and miserable lot!
Oh bitter servitude and sore,
Of which the ill is more and more,
The good existeth not.
Oh, life of purgatorial woes,
Hell that within this world is placed.
Evil with not a solace graced;
Strait whence no issue shows,
Symbol of how much pain can be
In all the deepest pains combined.

Cervantes.

IF ever men had power to stay the hands of oppression, if ever human voice could be raised to obtain humane treatment for the despised and the suffering, to mitigate the sorrows of the down-trodden and successfully deprecate the outrage of the defenceless, that power was wielded, that voice possessed, by the Popes of Rome.

"From the Tiber goes forth a voice heard further than that of the Caesars, from the Vatican rolls thunder louder than that of the Capitol." Whether those, who ruled in the name of the God of Love and Humanity and judged nations and kings from the chair of Peter, were aroused to indignation by the awful sufferings of the Parent, whose illegitimate offspring they were and whether they used their vast influence to assuage or minimise it, it is the purpose of this chapter to relate. The earliest Pontiffs did not treat the Jews differently to their other subjects; they did not inculcate their persecution as a religious tenet, as did many of the Popes in the Middle Ages. The State policy of the Vatican was opposed to the marking out of the Jews as a separate caste. Gregory I (The Great, 590-604) was a man of mild disposition. To those of his Bishops who showed a tendency to ill-treat the Jews, he addressed vigorous briefs, denouncing their actions as anti-Christian. "Peter, Bishop of Terraco, had consented to a species of persecution of the Jews in his diocese by permitting them to be molested in their festivities and to be more than once driven from the places in which they celebrated them. Gregory wrote

to Peter to condemn the practice and to give his decisive opinion, that the Jews should not be in the least molested, that they ought to be won over to the faith by the sweetness of Gospel preaching and by the denunciations of Divine judgment against infidelity, and that these were Christian arts and methods, while those of a different nature tended only to harden and disgust the human mind.[1] To Virgilius and Theodorus, Bishops of Marseilles, he wrote respecting the persecuting methods made use of against the Jews. He again bore testimony against the compulsory practices and declared how sorry he is to find that many of that people had been brought by violence rather than by preaching to the baptismal font. "If a Jew is brought thither by necessity not by the sweetness of the word, returning to his former superstition, he dies in a worse state than that from which he seemed to be regenerated. Preach frequently to them that they may desire to be changed through the love of what they hear. Thus your desire of saving souls will be accomplished, and the convert will not return like the dog, to his vomit. Preach that their dark minds may be illuminated and that under God, they may be brought to real regeneration." He also wrote to Parcusius, Bishop of Naples, complaining of the violence done the Jews in driving them from their solemnities.[2] Together with these briefs he issued another prohibiting his clergy from using false weights or robbing the peasantry by defrauding them out of their produce. "He would not," he says, "have the Church defiled by base gains." Gregory was however greatly mortified to discover that his well matured plans to effect their apostasy from Judaism produced no tangible result and severely punished a number of Christians in Sicily, who had in direct opposition to his wishes embraced Judaism. The president of the Jewish community in the town was flogged and the synagogue demolished by his orders. To some of the Italian Bishops, who were for hounding down the Jews he said, "the cities from which you desire to expel them have been their homes long before Christianity was founded." "They may," decreed he on one important occasion, "leave their property to their children."

Benedict VIII (1012-1024) rendered Rome an inestimable service, according to Bower.[3] He saved the city from a terrible storm. In this he saw a manifestation of Divine wrath and heavenly disapproval of his allowing heretics to reside in the eternal city, so he resolved to appease the Deity by beheading a number of Jews. This being done the storm abated and gradually ceased.

(1.) Milner's "Church of Christ," Vol. VII, p. 45.
(2.) Ibid.
(3.) "History of the Popes, Vol. II.

Benedict IX (1033-1044) was a most implacable foe of the Jews and did not hesitate to practise any excess or injustice upon them. His criminal character precluded him from experiencing any regret for his actions.[1]

Gregory VII (Hildebrand 1073-1086) took a more definite standpoint on the Jewish question than perhaps any preceding Pope. He decreed (1078) "that no Jew shall hold any official post in any Christian Kingdom." He addressed a sharp letter to Alfonso, King of Castile, soundly rating him for employing members of the Hebrew faith in State offices and as he had heard—he was shocked to repeat it—surrounding his person and filling his court with the enemies of Christ and Christendom. He bitterly censured a few of the more tolerant Spanish Bishops, who befriended them, and in a vigorous epistle asked them if they desired to enthrone Satan and worship in his Synagogue. "This Pope was," says a writer, "on the other hand far more satisfied with William the Conqueror, King of England, and Duke of Normandy, who ratified the decision of the congress in Rouen, that the Jews were not only prohibited from keeping Christian bondsmen but also from having Christian nurses."

Innocent II (1130-1143) seems to have been in a degree humane to the Jews. A French writer in describing the procession that went to congratulate him on his triumphal entry into Rome says "Troops of knights and crowds of people pressed to see the procession, but strangest of all, even the wretched persecuted Jews of Paris came forward and offered to the head man of their persecutors a copy of their "Law" covered by a veil. "May God Almighty take away the veil which is on your hearts," was the reply of Innocent.[1]

Pope Alexander III (1159-1181) was for a mild policy towards the Jews, his treasurer was a skilful Jewish financier, Yechiel ben Abraham. Alexander was deposed for political reasons and another Pope enthroned; this usurper was also in his turn dethroned and Alexander recalled. When on his official entry into Rome, the Jews not unmindful of his past kindnesses went out to meet him bearing emblazoned banners and Scrolls of the Law in their arms walking under silken canopies, he was deeply moved by the manner in which

(1.) In the year 1033 the Counts of Tuscoli had the boldness to elevate to the Papal dignity Theophylact, a boy twelve years old belonging to their own family. He called himself Benedict IX and gave himself up to every species of vicious excess and of course this enthronement of mean profligacy in the Chair of St. Peter had by reason of the relation of the Papacy at that time to the Western Church the most baleful influences on the condition of Christian life especially in Italy. Dr. Neander, "General History of the Christian Church and Religion," Vol. VI. p. 42.

(1.) See Morrison, "Life and Times of St. Bernard," p. 157.

they testified their loyalty and gratitude to him. He was one of the few Pontiffs who did not demand payment of a "Jewish tax" and when it is remembered that he lived during a period of fervent political broils our opinion of his commendable liberality and broadness of mind can only be enhanced. He was alas but an oasis in a vast desert. Tyrants more cruel than the "Thirty" of Athens or the "Ten" of Ancient Rome followed him and meted ont very different treatment. Innocent III (1198-1216), a man "whose cruelty would have done no dishonour to the blood stained escutcheon of Nero," and whose ambition transcended that of Gregory VII, perhaps the haughtiest autocrat who ever sat in the chair of Peter, was a veritable monster to the Jews. Whilst aiming at their complete and irremediable degradation, he yet realized that which many of his predecessors had failed to do, namely the inefficacy of obtaining Jewish converts to Christianity by means of forcible baptism, i.e., dragging them through the streets by sheer violence into churches, where they were baptized with the dagger pointed at their breasts and in cases of powerful resistance gagging them. Innocent knew that the neophytes invariably returned to Judaism on the first opportunity, a course which greatly impugned the spiritual value of the sacred immersion. He therefore desiring to convert them *en masse* prohibited this, as likewise entering the Synagogue on Sabbaths and festivals and whipping the inmates with leathern thongs. Innocent, taking cognizance of the frightful cruelties the Crusades were practising upon the French communities of Jews, wrote ordering them to discontinue the ghastly outrage of exhuming the corpses of members of that race. This was not on grounds of humanity, for as Wilks (a Papal Historian) says, "He instituted a Crusade against the Albigenses, butchering them by tens of thousands, with every circumstance of atrocity." He crowned Don Pedro as Pedro II, King of Aragon, but not before exacting from him a promise to relentlessly persecute all heretics under his sway. The Jews of that country anticipated a bitter proscription and persecution would arise from this monarch's visit to Rome and after assembling in their synagogue praying and fasting, they went to meet him on his return bearing the Sepharim' ("Scrolls") in their arms, but for once their fears were unfounded. Pedro treated them as equal with his Christian subjects. Innocent—an ironical misnomer, an inexplicable vagary of nomenclature—bitterly upbraided Alfonso, King of Castile, for his lack of Christian zeal ; he had allowed the Jews every right enjoyed by Christians and had—he heard with sorrow—advanced them to posts of honour and trust. If this continued and they were not deprived of their trusts and offices, he would have no alternative but

to excommunicate him. This Pope also wrote a passionate letter to Philip of France vituperating him for his culpable laxity in the administration of the ecclesiastical laws against them. Philip had already made France one seething hell for the Jews. Innocent wanted him to make it a vast grave-yard, or rather charnel house, for according to the literal interpretation of several Apostolical briefs, the Jews and all unbelievers forfeit the right of Christian burial. "It offended his sight," wrote the Pope, "that some princes should prefer the descendants of the crucifiers to the heirs of the crucified Christ, as if the son of a slave woman could ever be equal with the son of a free woman." He despatched another bitter letter to the Count de Nevers in 1208, because he would not countenance a system of Jewish persecution in his territory. "The Jews," he said, "must wander about the earth like the fratricide Cain,[1] they are fugitives and vagabonds and are to be covered with insult." They were not to be protected by any good Christian, their fate was to be constant servitude. "Christian princes must remember that it is most shameful to facilitate their dealings with Christians." Innocent continues with several most malicious and untruthful assertions and his letter on the whole is couched in the anti-Jewish spirit of the age. He did much to instil the spirit of judicial burlesque into trials in which Jews were concerned and, in the words of an eminent Jewish historian, was the first Pope to thoroughly direct against them the full exasperation and severity of the Church.

One of their bitterest foes, he presided at the Fourth Lateran Council, which so persecuted the Jews of Europe, enforced the wearing of a distinctive "Jew Badge," compelled them to pay tithes to the bishops of the dioceses in which they resided and threatened to interdict any Christian who held intercourse with them. "Everything provoked his wrath against them; he begrudged them the very air and light and only a delusive hope restrained him from openly preaching a Crusade and a war of annihilation against them."[2] To the monstrous and splenetic canons of the Lateran Council under his presidency, we refer in Chapter VII. Here we will content ourselves with saying that the 1,200 prelates, who assembled from every part of Christendom, almost to a man acquiesced in his opinions as to the imperative necessity of extirpating Jewish unbelief by rendering its following odious. Though he might not be termed the primal originator of the Jewish badge he systematized it, and as almost all the clergy submitted to his spiritual guidance, it became an established part of the clerical policy. So much for Innocent III.

Gregory IX (1227-1241), "a zealous persecutor of the Jews," issued many Bulls against them. He had commanded the Talmud to be burned, which was done by the Chancellor of Paris in the year 1230 before an assemblage of clergy and people. Thirteen years later Innocent IV ordered another general confiscation and burning of it. He addressed many angry missives to bishops who had shown acts of kindness to Jews. His ramifications, the Dominican monks, making the many vapid charges laid against the race by Innocent III their shield, accused them of the most outrageous crimes varying from obstinacy to persuading, by cabalistical conjurations, demons and vampires to devastate Europe by poisoning the rivers and wells or by sending earthquakes. Gregory's pontificate saw the firm inception of the Inquisition; its theatre was France and the victims of this theological abattoir the Albigenses. Gregory however placed limits upon his hatred to the Jews. During the frightful massacres of that race in 1236, he despatched a brief to the French, deprecating the inhumanities so ruthlessly perpetrated. "Your country-men," he wrote, "instead of arming themselves body and soul for a war which was to be carried on in the name of the Lord, instead of manifesting in their behaviour so much the more fear and love to fight in his case have executed godless counsel against the Jews. They have not considered that they must derive the evidences of the Christian religion from their archives, and that the Lord will not reject his people for ever. Not considering this they have acted as if they meant to exterminate them from the earth, and with unheard of cruelty have butchered 2,300 human beings of all ages and both sexes and in extenuation of this atrocious crime, they pleaded they had done so and threatened to do worse, if the Jews would not accept Christ." In 1239 he again convicted the Talmud of blasphemy against the Church and published an encyclical to the monarchs of all Christian countries ordering that their officers should on the first Sunday in Lent enter the Synagogues and compel the surrender of all books of the Gemera.

They were to be again examined by a baptised Jew appointed for that purpose, and should he verify the accusations made against them, they were to be burnt. The pursuance of the story of Gregory's further opposition to the Talmud enters into the History of the Jews in France.

Innocent IV (1243-1254) was a man of different calibre and although he never thoroughly divested himself of his personal peccadillos, he did not permit them to obscure his views on the Jewish question. He possessed sufficient acumen to perceive the origin of the constant maltreatment to which the Jews were everywhere subjected

and determined to remove the nominal cause. Concerning the many fictitious crimes of which they were being constantly accused, he issued a bull (1247) in which was calmly set forth the purpose, nature and effect of these charges. He critically discusses the standpoint of the Jewish law upon the "ritual murder" and reviews the principal accusations of that century, showing how they had all been either withdrawn or disproved. "The Jews living under Christian princes" he writes, "are in a worse plight than were their ancestors in Egypt under the Pharaohs. They are oft driven to leave in despair the very lands in which their fathers have dwelt since the memory of man. They are starved, plundered, tortured and murdered without trial, sentence or confession." He sums up their qualities and faults with sober and impartial mind, stigmatising all who oppressed them as unchristian and expressing his abhorrence of the high-handed outrages upon them in France and Germany. Much conjecture has been made as to the purposes that prompted Innocent; every possible reason has been stated except humanity and attachment to even-handed justice, as opposed to wholesale and savage massacres or legalized inhumanities. The popular impression was that he had been bribed by the Jews; the untruthfulness of this asseveration is shown by the tone of the epistle, and its alternations of sympathy for their sufferings and anger at their faults. Was it so fortuitous an occurrence that an occupant of the apostolical chair should evince traits inculcated by the New Testament? Innocent improved the position of the European Jews very greatly, but what was the voice of one Pope, practically in exile, when pitted against the reverberations from those of the many, who had thundered forth threats and imprecations against all heretics, until Jew persecution had become ingrained in the mind of almost every papist?

Clement IV (1265-1271) was another Pope who issued bulls against Jews. In 1266 he, on being informed that Moses Machmanides had beaten Pablo in a formal and royally appointed disputation upon the dividing lines between Judaism and Christianity and published a learned pamphlet explaining his argument, commanded King Jayme to remove all Jews from public offices and all posts of honour and to mete out very severe punishment to that "arch villain, who, after taking part in a religious discussion, had actually published a pamphlet, as if to dedicate a trophy to his heresy." This Pope however took the ground that the Jews were not to be slain, maltreated, baptized by force nor prohibited from practising their particular form of worship.

Gregory I (1271-1276) often shielded the Jews from injustice. He also found it necessary to repeat the statements of Innocent as to the

charges of ritual murder, crucifying Christian children, poisoning wells, invoking spirits, etc., and fulminated against forcible baptisms of the Jews.

Clement V (1304-1316) seems to have joyfully witnessed Philip le Bel's cruel expatriation of his Jewish subjects; and coalesced with him desiring to partake of the booty. Speaking of the "interminable avarice of both Pope and King," who, when the capacity of Christian contribution was exhausted, sought fresh prey, White says (p.p. 314-315), "The honourable pair hit upon an excellent expedient and the Jews were offered as a fresh pasture for the unimpaired appetites of the "Father of Christendom" and the eldest son of the Church. Philip hated their religion but seems to have had a great respect for the accuracy of their proceedings in trade, so to gratify the first he stripped them of all they had, and to prove the second, confiscated the monies he found entered in their books as lent on interest to Christians. He was found to be a far more difficult creditor to deal with than the original lenders had been and many a baron and needy knight had to refund to Philip the sums, with interest at twenty per cent. which they might have held indefinitely from the sons of Abraham and repudiated in an excess of religious fervour at last. But Clement was the thrall and abject slave of Philip, a fact which minimises the gravity of his complicity."

John XXII (1316-1344), who gave his assent to the massacres of the Jews at Chignon and other places, was not alone the enemy of the Jews, but of everybody who would not buy his friendship. He was too mundane to expel the Roman Jews as he was petitioned to do, but what he dared not do through expediency he resolved to accomplish by bigotry. His sister Sangisa suborned a few priests in his favour and induced them to swear that they had seen a body of Jews in a synagogue treating a cross with disrespect

Pope John, without permitting the Jews to exculpate themselves, immediately issued a Bull ordering the banishment of the Roman Jews from the Province (1321). Full of sorrow, the innocent men decreed a rigorous fast and assembled in their synagogues, but Count Robert of Naples proved their guiltlessness of the charge, through the confession of one of the accusatorial priests to this friend of the Jews ; and a Hebrew emissary, who had been despatched to the Papal court, obtained a hearing through Robert's influence and confuted the calumnies of the Clique. It took 20,000 golden ducats to mollify Sangisa's asperity and after receiving this stipulated ramollescence she condoned their residence in the Church States.

Clement VI (1344-1352) issued a bull prohibiting Christians from murdering Jews without accusation, trial or sentence, a practice so constant as to necessitate Papal interference. He also forbade Christians to whip them in the streets or drag them to the font. As similar bulls had been issued by the predecessors of Clement, their bare repetition shows with lamentable certainty, that they had all failed to cope with the deadly hatred these humane men sought to remedy. Clement's bull failed to produce any sensible alteration in the sad status of the Jews. More loyalty to the Papal commands was invariably testified when their persecution was enjoined. Urban V (1362-1370) and VI (1378-1389) have both left records of their fierce detestation of the Jews. The former on being apprised of the death of Pedro the Cruel at the hands of his brother's executioner expressed himself as delighted beyond measure. "How glad I am," he said "that the heretical Jew favourer has been punished for his crime."

John XXIII (1410-1417), who paved the way to his position by poisoning his predecessor, Alexander V, and described by Neander[1] as the most abominable of all the Popes, was consistent in his persecutions, for he not only displayed the most frowning and irreconcilable hostility to both Judaism and her suffering sons, but bitterly impugned the humanistic decrees of such tolerant and humane Popes as Alexander III and Innocent IV. He ordered every form of oppression which he thought might turn them from the Law of Sinai. Poor tortured Israel! in another part of the world they were being hounded to death because they would not believe in Mohammed.

Martin V (1417-1431), a man who would permit any crime or any good deed for cash paid on application, as a concession sold the Jews their natural rights. They, through their emissaries, complained that they had no protection of life or limb, that their synagogues were constantly being polluted and their property annexed by the officers of the Church and State. He issued a pontifical brief, bearing date January 31st, 1419, which said, "Whereas the Jews are made in the image of God and a remnant of them will one day be saved, and whereas they have besought our protection we, following in the footsteps of our predecessors, command that they shall not be molested in their synagogues; that their laws, rights, and customs shall not be assailed; that they shall not be baptized by force, constrained to observe Christian festivals nor to wear new distinctive badges, and that they shall not be hindered in their relations with Christians." In 1422 the Jews bought another bull from Martin, as their sufferings

(1.) "General History of the Christian Church and Religion," Vol. VI.

had not decreased in the slightest. This one differed from the preceding one he had sold them in being addressed mainly to the monks, who were everywhere cursing and slandering the Jews. "These vilifications must cease," he wrote. To those Bishops who had interdicted Christians for dealing with Jews, was conveyed the Papal assurance that they were not ostracised from the Church. He received deputations of Spanish, Italian and German Jews and granted them their chartered liberties. To the German rulers he wrote ordering them to grant the "chamber serfs" human rights.

When the haughty and schism-creating Cardinal, Pedro de Luna, became Pope, he displayed such extraordinary zeal for the conversion of the Jews *en masse,* that he inaugurated a regular polemical crusade in which he sought to win them over to the Faith of which he was at that time so characteristic a representative.[1]

Eugenius IV, (1431-1447) was a most vigorous hunter of the Jews. One of his earliest measures was to issue a bull rescinding the nominally protective decrees granted them by different occupants of the Papal chair and revising, that is intensifying, the severity of the Canonical laws against them enacted by the Fourth Lateran and other Councils. He had observed the skill and celebrity of the Jewish physicians, and that the laws inhibiting them from following their calling were practically disregarded by the Christians, who employed them, and therefore he declared anew, that "No Christian shall, under pain of ecclesiastical ban take medicines prepared by Jews, submit to their treatment or even consult them or any person professing the religion of Moses." Other decrees were, that "No Christian shall eat, drink, bathe or sleep with a Jew, live in a house inhabited by one or hold any communion with them." Jews were to hold no public offices or positions of trust, and all good Christians were solemnly adjured to instantly dismiss those in their employ. It was an infraction of this cruel code "for the suppression of Jewish arrogance," if a Jew or Jewess left the squalid quarters assigned to the race, and offended the eyes of Christians during "Holy Week." This Pope also issued orders prohibiting the erection of new synagogues and upbraiding the Jews for the lavish construction of the existing ones. When one of these heretical fanes was being repaired it was particularly forbidden to ornament it. One of Eugenius' laws enacted that any Jew guilty of making a disrespectful expression concerning the Virgin Mary or any of the Saints, (an expression of course including Thomas a Beckett, Louis IX, and the earlier Jew baiters, Hilary and Agobard), was to be severely punished by the civil tribunals. The clerical courts were to

(1.) For an account of this crusade see chapter IX.

confiscate his every earthly belonging to the Church, that is the Papal treasury. The blind and bigoted intolerance of Eugenius towards the Jews is seen by his varying considerably the punishment of a Christian guilty of blasphemy. After he had been adjudged guilty, the censure of the Church was pronounced on him. Some prefer to regard this flagrant disparity as an instance of his power of discrimination. "He absolutely forbade a Christian to stand in any relation to a Jew, declared Jewish testimony against Christian miscreants invalid, and forbade any Christian to kindle fires for them on their sabbaths. He made indefatigable efforts to render the lives of the Jews insufferable." This is spoken of his attitude to the Jews of all Christian Europe generally; to those under his immediate rule he gave special attention, which found expression in a code of forty-two articles, each one either denying some natural right or heaping some new misfortune upon them. Some of the Spanish Bishops, of whom several pitied the Jews, were addressed in an autograph pastoral and urged to steel themselves against mercy and other weaknesses of flesh and blood, and strictly administer the Canonical laws against them. So faithfully did these obey the behest of their infallible master, that the King of Castile found it necessary to intervene and mitigate their zealous obedience.

Nicholas V. (1447-1455) was a relentless foe to the Jews. His programme for their humiliation was identical with that of his immediate predecessor and exemplar, Eugenius. The mode of realising this desideratum was perhaps more systematic and better matured. The Jews of Italy were declared amenable to the monstrous "Jewish Code," hitherto addressed to the Castilian communities. It was this Pope that entrusted that Neapolitan Boanerges, John of Capistrano, with the supervision of the rigorous practice of his fierce anti-Jewish laws and invested him with plenary powers. How the heartless monster fulfilled a mission so much to his taste need not be here described. We have but to look at the cowardly and splenetic manner in which he, mainly by vilification, oppressed the Polish Jews, who had for years lived unmolested and even received tangible marks of Royal favour. John poisoned the mind of Casimir the Great, who finally fell a victim to monachal duplicity and blandishment, high and liberal-minded as he was.

In 1451 Nicholas published fresh canons against the Jews—especially those of Spain—the motives of this new onslaught was to assure himself, that notwithstanding the lapse of time since his first brief on the matter, his savage enactments had not fallen into desuetude. One of his steps was to officially approve Eugenius' revocation of Martin V's Bull, which accorded the Jews some semblance of justice.

Sixtus IV (1471-1484), perhaps the most venal and certainly one of the most criminal and profligate Popes that ever occupied the pontifical throne, sanctioned by bull the official and permanent establishment of the "Holy Inquisition," an institution which in the name of religion and the God of Love and Mercy shed more blood and caused more oceans of tears than Caesar or Pompey, and an institution of blood which will for ever stand forth as the stern and inexorable Arraigner of Christianity, for all the foul and monstrous deeds of horror and savagery and for all the diabolical outrages upon human liberty, that could be performed by men transformed into demoniac torturers and inhuman executioners. Sixtus IV like Eugenius[1] excluded the Jews from almost every profession and certainly every grade of society, which might advance their political status. The few Jews, who appeared to give Sixtus so much unrest through their high charactered lives, their domestic virtues, the purity and simplicity of their faith and their patience under suffering proved a glaring contrast to the criminality of Rome. "At Rome itself the capital of intellect and religion, such iniquities were perpetrated on every side that Protestant authors themselves consent to draw a veil over them for the sake of human nature.[2] The crimes and wickedness of the Papal court was one of the features by which it was marked. Women of high rank and infamous character placed the companions of their vices in the highest offices of the church and seated their sons or paramours on the Papal throne. Spiritual pretensions rose almost in proportion to personal immorality, and the curious spectacle was presented of a power losing all respect at home, by conduct which the heathen emperors of the first century scarcely equalled ; of Popes alternately dethroning and imprisoning each other, of sometimes two Popes at a time.[3]

Alexander VI, "the most depraved and wicked of mankind, whom no earthly ruler had equalled in profligacy and the coarser vices of cruelty and oppression, a bloodthirsty ruffian ;" Julius II, who, despite the ecclesiastical law which forbade all Christians to consult Jewish physicians, appointed Simeon Zarfati, a learned Jew, as his physician in ordinary ; and Leo X the deist, who, during the Dominican crusade against the Talmud and cognate literature, ordered an inquiry into the statements of Pfefferkorn and Hoogstraten, thus frustrating their sinister designs, but at a later period burnt Reuchlin's defence of the

(1.) The Council of Basle declared Eugenius a simonist, perjurer and irredeemable heretic, a firebrand of discord, a waster of the goods of the Church, a rebel against God. "Legge," p. 80.

(2.) Dr. White. "The Eighteen Christian Centuries," p. 220.

(3.) Ibid.

Talmud as heretical, and again reversing his chameleonic policy and recommending its wholesale publication together with the work it defended; all were content with the Lateran programme and made no fresh provisions against the Jews, but administered those already extant.

Clement VII (1523-1534) befriended the Marranos; who fled into Italy from the terrible and fiery massacres of their race, but his motive was said to be ulterior, for he hoped thereby to mortify Charles V, then his most implacable foe. His bull prohibiting forcible baptism, (the constant repetition of this bull shows its inutility), was nullified by the local promptings of his Nuncios and Cardinals at the different European Courts. Clement had appointed a commision to inquire into the treatment of some twelve hundred imprisoned Marranos with the result that he recommended their release, his advice however was unheeded and they languished in their dungeons.

Paul III (1534-1550), who issued a bull of excommunication and deposition against Henry VIII, appears to have been at heart a very humane man. Like Alexander III he was actuated in his attitude towards the Jews by motives of justice. He urgently pressed for a relaxation of the inhuman treatment meted out to the Marranos and manfully oppugned himself to the solicitations of Don Joao, King of Portugal, who sought the repeal of Clement VII's bull, which he feared at some future time might stay the bloody hands of his inquisitorial executioners and thus lessen the vast sums, which flowed into his royal coffers through the hands of his faithful torturers. In December 1535 Paul, touched to the core by the indescribable sufferings of the Marranos, of which he had been apprised by a Jewish legate, insisted upon the liberation of a number of these Jews, who had for years been immured in the fortresses and dungeons of Portugal. Don Alfonso, a confirmed hater of the Jews and a favourite son of the "Holy Office" was forced into tardily releasing eighteen hundred of his Jewish prisoners, men, women and children, whose sole crime lay in the adhesion to their ancestral tenets. The course of political events exercised a most baneful effect upon the Papacy in regard to its position on the Inquisition. As Paul gradually fell under the influence of the Emperor Charles, that monarch in reward for the battles he had won for the Papacy loudly clamoured for the re-establishment of the Inquisition in all its pristine power, and Paul—the power to refuse was no longer in his hand—a man who had evinced the deepest sympathy with the horrible miseries of the Iberian Jews who were being roasted almost daily in batches, had much against his wish to concede to Charles the reward he claimed for his services, and granted a bull establishing and ramifying the institution of blood in

different parts of Europe, thus complying with the Emperor's dearest wishes. Alexander III, Clement VII and Paul III, all sounded dissonant notes in the history of the Papal treatment of the Jews, but their successors oppressed them the more for that very reason. Paul made many merciful encumbrances upon the brief forced from him, and exerted his private influence to ameliorate the Marranos' dreadful sufferings. and to mitigate the fiendish severity of the Inquisition itself which appeared blind to every dictate of humanity and to delight in witnessing, like Urban VI, the awful burning, racking, and tearing of heretics, i.e., those who called into question the Divine inspiration, guidance, and spiritual supremacy of the Apostolic office. As soon as Paul III found that he possessed sufficient influence to free himself of the untiring importunities of the heretic-hunting monarchs of Europe, he sequestrated the Portugese Inquisition and impugning the validity of his own bull, which he submitted had been granted with compunction, relegated the consideration of the question to a selected committee of fair minded and impartial Cardinals. The report of this commission, the members of which thoroughly discussed the sufferings of the Marranos, gave the honest and ingenuous Pope a moral ground for the official revocation of the bull Charles had cozened from him. Since its very issue, he had made overt efforts to circumvent its effect but had failed. We have already seen that although a bull enjoining the humane treatment of the Jews was almost invariably disregarded, one inculcating their persecution was always received with the most joyful and submissive obedience. This knowledge forced itself upon the Jew befriending Paul, who often deplored his inability to repress the furious persecutions of the Jews under his jurisdiction.

Julius III (1550-1555) ordered the confiscation and public destruction of the Talmud. He was far from fanatically inclined, but his office was really a sinecure, for the administration of the Papal chair had fallen into the hands of the Inquisition, an institution which possessed paramount power over Popes and Princes alike. He merely attached his seal to the already drawn up bull, which was implicitly, obeyed, and the familiars of the Inquisition bursting into the houses of the Roman Jews, ransacked and rummaged every recess, seeking for the "deleterious and pernicious" work and declared it the property of the Holy See. Not content with removing the copies of the Talmud, the very prayer books were seized and—to mortify their original owners—kept until the Jewish New Year, when a public bonfire was ignited and thousands of valuable Hebrew and Oriental books and manuscripts burnt. Rome was not the only scene of a literary auto-da-fe ; throughout Italy such vigorous and unflagging search was made

that not one Gemara was to be found there. At Venice, Pisa, Mantua, Padua, Vecchia and even Crete, immense loads of copies of the Talmud and other Rabbinic works were seized, confiscated and burnt. The censors of the Holy Office regretted that they might burn the volumes only and not their "accursed" owners. Owing to the spiteful and international seizure of every hook in the Hebrew language, even the Bibles, matters came to such a pass that Julius issued a rescript in which he severely censured those who "for the gratification of personal animosity, had not sought to discriminate between the works offensive to Christianity and those which contained no deleterious matter." He appointed a tribunal of Censors—all baptised Jews—who were to examine every impeached volume and to pronounce an opinion upon it. How these hybrid cowards used their newly acquired authority to mortify their former co-religionists one is ashamed to tell. Every tree has a rotten branch, every branch has a rotten twig ; better for the tree, better for the branch, if it be lopped off too early to injure the trunk. In 1554 it was declared a misdemeanour punishable by public flogging for Jews to withhold or conceal their books from monks or familiars.

Paul IV (1557-1554) was a re-incarnation of Innocent III with a dash of John XXII's criminality.[1] He had been a Dominican Monk and nurtured in a hot bed of fanaticism. The bigoted Caraffa, when termed Paul IV, did not permit his ebullient hatred against Jews, Protestants and Mohammedans by any means to subside "He would sit for long hours and pour forth torrents of stormy eloquence against the Protestants and Mohammedans and that generation of Jews, the scum of the world."[2] He framed a code of laws which the keeper of a menagerie of dangerous beasts would consider inhuman, for the beasts would be allowed to inhale the fresh air occasionally. Paul hardly allowed the Jews to do that. Were they not atheists ? By some astounding process of sophistry, he held that for the inexpiable crime of crucifying Christ, for which they were personally responsible, it was his bounden and Christian duty to render their lives a literal hell on earth. He celebrated his inauguration to the pontifical throne by levying a fine of ten ducats yearly upon every Jewish congregation in

(1.) The court at Avignon became the most voluptuous in Christendom. It was crowded with knights and ladies, painters and other artists. It exhibited a day dream of equipage and banquets. The Pontiff himself delighted in female society, but in his weakness permitted his lady, the Countess of Turenne, to extort enormous revenues by the sale of ecclestiastical promotions. Petrarch who lived at Avignon at this time speaks of it as "a vast brothel" ; his own sister had been seduced by the Holy Father, John XXII. Draper, "Intellectual Development of Europe," Vol. II, page 94.

(2.) Ranke, "History of the Popes," Vol. I, page 217.

the Romagna and the Papal States. Sixtus IV had exacted a tax from the brothels of Rome. Paul IV exacted one from the Jews of Rome. "From 1143 the Jews had to pay 1130 pieces of gold annually towards the cost of the Roman sports. Another very iniquitous tax was the levy made on the Jews of Rome for the support of the house of Catechumens, which may be compared to the compulsory attendance of Jews three times a year at Christian sermons against Judaism. The Jews felt themselves fortunate when Sixtus V fixed the total annual tax at twelve giuli a head on all males between the ages of sixteen and sixty. Before that time the Popes simply extorted what they could."[1] "On the continent at this time, the Jews were taxed when they entered a market, and taxed when they left it. They were only permitted to enter the market place at inconvenient hours and the Church ended by leaving the Jews nothing to trade in but money and second hand goods, allowing them as a choice of commodities in which to deal, new gold or old iron."[2] During the fifteenth century the lot of the Roman Jews had been most terrible. "On Monday the first day of the Carnival, at least eight Jews were forced to present themselves at the Porto Populo to open the footraces. Half clad, often in heavy showers of rain, whipped and jeered at, they were compelled, amid the wild shouts of the mob, to cover the whole length of the race-course, which was about 1100 yards long. Occasionally the poor victims succumbed to the exertions and fell dead on the course. On the same black Monday of the Carnival the Fattori (lay heads), the Rabbis and other leading Jews were forced to walk on foot at the head of the procession of the senators from one end of the Corso to the other, offering a ready butt for the insults and derision of the assembled crowd. Towards the expenses of these entertainments the Jews had also to contribute."[3]

In 1555 Paul IV, issued a Bull, which assailed the Jews with unrelenting harshness. The Roman Jews in particular suffered the grossest indignities. Every town in the Papal territories was ordered to set about the instant demolition of the synagogues. One in each town only, the oldest, was to be left to the Jews, who were now forbidden all intercourse with Christians. They were not allowed to employ the latter. The Christian herdsmen left the flocks of their Jewish masters untended, so faithfully was this bull obeyed. Every Israelite was ordered to assume a distinctive mark, a green cap, infinitely more degrading than the hated yellow badge, which the

(1.) Israel Abraham's, M.A., "Jewish Life in the Middle Ages," page 46.
(2.) Ibid.
(3.) Ibid.

Church had forced them to attach to their garments. Jewesses, young and old, were compelled to wear a long disfiguring veil of similar colour, and Christians were ordered not to address Hebrews of either sex with the respectful words, "Signor," "Signora," or any others of similar import. These two words were specially withheld from them, it being a contravention of law to so address them. Every profession and every art was closed to them; fitting legislation for a man, who asserted his authority as God's representative on earth and declared himself able to depose any monarch and hand over his country to a foreign invader.[1] Paul IV also declared Jews to be ineligible for admission to the trade guilds. Old clothes and iron were the only goods in which they were allowed to deal. A few miserable streets were told off for their residence and the ghetto was crowded to suffocation, "10,000 souls in less than one square Kilometre." Alas! a crowned monk could so dispose of the lives of kinsmen of the Prophets! The ghetto gates were closed at sunset after which no Jew was allowed to emerge. A small stipulated number were annually permitted to marry. The papal monition besought all believers to have no communion with Jews or Saracens and before concluding with a word against Jewish physicians, in whose hands lay the entire medical skill of Italy, and to whom he forbade the further practice of their profession, he issued a furious order commanding them to instantly dispose of their lands within six months. It was now made illegal for a Jew to hold real estate. Their lands to the value of 500,000 crowns realized but one fifth of that sum, the wily purchasers knowing full well that the vendors would perforce accept any terms offered them. And what of Rome itself? It bitterly persecuted the Jews. But what of the Popes of those few centuries of bitter misery for the Jews? "What society has been torn by more civil dissensions or suffered more disruptions than the clerical? What nation has been more divided, broken up or varied than the ecclesiastical nation? The national Churches in the majority of the countries of Europe have been in almost constant strife with the court of Rome. Councils have risen against Popes; heresies have been innumerable and inextinguishable and schisms have incessantly prevailed. Nowhere has there been so much diversity of opinion, so much bitterness and fury in contest, so much splitting up of power. The internal existence of the Church, the dissensions which have broken loose within it and the revolutions that have shaken it have been perhaps the greatest obstacle to the triumph of that theocratical organization it has striven to impose on

(1.) Legge, "The Temporal Power of the Papacy," page 122.

society."[1] "The Church was torn by contending factions often three Popes at one time and council arrayed against council. Every nation was disgusted with its own priesthood, and enthusiasm burning out amid the general confusion into the wildest excesses of fanaticism and vice, and yet a total incapability of any country to devise means of amendment."[2] These two preceding quotations show the state of the Church which punished the Jews for their heresy and fastened every defection from Christianity upon them, a fact which is shown by such statements as the following, "Rome was full of atheism and with an instinct as to the origin of the mischief everywhere spreading, the Pope published bulls against the Jews of whom a bloody persecution had arisen, and ordered that all their Talmuds and other blasphemous works should be burnt."[3] We shall now let history give some account of the heads of the Church, "The Popes who poisoned their guests, like Alexander VI, slew their opponents, like Julius, or led the lives of intellectual epicures like Leo X."[4] "Of the twenty four Popes, who occupied the apostolic throne during the century and a half which followed the destruction of the Carlovingian house, two were murdered, five were driven into exile, four were deposed and three resigned. Some attained the tiara by arms, some by money, others again by the influence of priestly courtesans, whilst one at least was self appointed. One of these heirs of St. Peter entered upon his infallibility before he had attained his twelfth year. This was Benedict IX who a few years later fell in love, and in order to marry sold the Popedom to the Archpriest John, who took the name of Gregory VI. Disappointed in his hopes of marriage, Benedict again claimed the tiara which he had just sold. Meanwhile some of the nobles had elected a rival, who took the name of Sylvester III, the High Church party supporting the one whose only claim was that of purchase. Another Pontiff of this period received a posthumous sentence of deposition, his corpse being disinterred for the purpose. Another, Judas-like, received a bribe to recognize the patriarch of Constantinople as universal bishop."[1] During a very disgraceful period of the Papacy "Rome became the seat of every species of corruption. The Markgrave, Adalbert of Tuscany combined with the vicious Roman women, Theodora and her daughter Marozia, acquired an influence which operated disastrously even on the election of the Popes. The papal throne was stained with crimes which, had their been the least susceptibility for such an effect in the

(1.) Guizot, "History of Civilization in Europe," p. 172.
(2.) White.
(3.) Draper, "Intellectual Development of Europe, Vol. II, page 93.
(4.) White.

spiritual life of the nation, would have served beyond anything else to deprive the papal dignity of the sacred character with which it has been invested."[2] These two quotations are enough, though more could be given, to show what type of men ruled the Jews and prescribed for them their religious duty. Not alone the high personal characters of the Hebrews but their services to learning should have silenced them. "The Church was the seat of monastic ignorance and barbarity, the Synagogue was the place of science and civilization. In Christianity every scientific effort was condemned as the work of Satan by the officials of the Church as well as by the people. In Judaism the teachers and leaders of religion themselves promoted science and endeavoured to elevate the people."[3]

In 1559 the ancient Jewish Rabbinical seminary and library of Cremona was, by order of the Pope, destroyed. To a bigoted and raging monk, Sextus of Sienna, was relegated the duty of razing the building, and right faithfully did he discharge his mission. He pronounced the whole library of twelve thousand ponderous tomes, as offensive to religion, i.e., Christianity, and gave peremptory orders for their immediate destruction. "Had he not been finally restrained," says a learned historian, "he would not have spared a single Hebrew Book, for he regrets that 'the avarice and weakness of princes tempted them to spare the Jewish literature from the flames." Paul, through the medium of his spies and informers, ever sought for pretexts to imprison the Jews on all sorts of pretended infractions of his monstrous "Laws for the regulation of the Jews and the restraint of their abuses." Numbers he fined, others he forced to labour gratuitously by repairing and strengthening the walls and defences of Rome. Many eminent and learned Hebrews unwilling to longer remain in Rome under such worrying and minute restrictions attempted to leave the city, but they were roughly assailed as they emerged from the ghetto gates. Paul would have done honour to a Dominican monastery, and had one to divine by his laws his nationality and profession, the divination would be a fifteenth century German Bishop. Not content with closing every avenue of knowledge and industry to his Jewish subjects he ordered his nephew to fire the Jewish quarter with a torch the following night, when it would be closed and the inhabitants barred in. The "nephew" had no alternative but to obey the orders of his father and had not the few indignant Cardinals, who loathed the persecuting intolerance of Caraffa, loudly protested against this monstrous project.

(1.) Legge, "Temporal Power of the Papacy, p. 34 and 35.
(2.) Neander, "Ecclesiastical History," Vol. VI, p. 29.
(3.) Graetz.

they would certainly have been burnt in their very houses, as had been the Jews of Worms two centuries earlier. His wily action in not formally re-enacting the decrees of his predecessor in regard to the Marranos induced many of that hounded and tortured body of men, who had fled from witnessing the daily holocausts of their brethren in Spain and Portugal, to settle in Italy ; but he gave clandestine orders commanding the arrest and examination by torture of many hundreds of these hapless and persecuted beings resident in his territories. In 1555 the sequestrations and ultimate confiscation of all their property and personal effects followed. Few ever emerged from the foul dungeons into which they had been dragged in punishment for their indomitable attachment to the God of Israel and the Law He had given on Mount Sinai. On one occasion the bloody-minded Paul in a paroxysm of fanatical rage seized over a hundred Marranos, Portuguese and Turkish.

The latter had a puissant partisan, the Sultan, who, in a note couched in language the most unequivocal and unmistakable, demanded the release of his subjects forthwith, thus the infuriate vicegerent of God on earth was baulked of a by no means inconsiderable part of his prey and his victims were reduced in numbers. The remaining Marranos he left to languish in dungeons and subterranean vaults, withholding from them with studied brutality the knowledge of their fate. After a lengthy incarceration the Vicar of Christ offered those who would consent to repeat the Catholic confession of faith, if not absolute freedom, at any rate their lives. Those who refused were to be burnt alive at the stake. Nearly thirty firmly and resolutely refused to give voice to the lie with which some of their fellow prisoners purchased their lives, and on the 15th., May 1556, they were publicly burnt crying, "Hear O Israel, The Lord is our God, The Lord is one." Answer me all ye who sing your strains on the courage of heroes and attune your panegyrics upon the achievements of men ! Is not the glorious deed I tell meet to be placed on the highest rung of the ladder of fame ? Shall not these thirty men be placed in the Pantheon ? Shall not the stylus of Calliope inscribe upon the golden tablet of its mistress, the wondrous bravery of my ancestors and sing paeans of praise to their glory ?

Had men of adamant, had the panthers and jackals of the forest, the very Gorgons, witnessed this dreadful wholesale slaughter, they would have intervened, but the Roman monks were delighted to witness the frightful agonies of their hated foes, for they gloated with fiendish glee over their terrible sufferings. So cruelly were the Italian Jews

oppressed by the Pope, Cardinals,[1] clergy and people, that when a renegade Jew at the head of a hastily gathered mob, violently burst into a synagogue on the Day of Atonement, flung the "Sepher" from the Ark and placed a huge crucifix with the image of a bleeding God upon it, the Wardens of the Congregation (Recanate) were publicly flogged by the monks with the most excessive cruelty, until their blood streamed over the garments of those who administered the unjust chastisement; for turning the baptized Philip Mero out of the fane.

Pope Paul III erected a most palatial residence for the use of those Jews, who became baptized of their own volition and promulgated a bull compelling the different communities to maintain their renegades. This was a severe law—although the offering of inducements to Jewish cowards certainly tended to defecate Judaism—and one perhaps more degrading than any other of the cruel laws to which they had to submit. Paul made it part of his eventful life's work to hunt the Jews with unremitting fury. Nearly every prominent Hebrew community in Europe experienced either the direct consequences or the after throes of the many persecutions of the race he set on foot. He was never weary of harassing them nor was his fecund mind ever devoid of means and myrmidons to effect their oppression. He surrounded himself with a galaxy of baptized Jews and always found employment for them, such as "Censorship of the Talmud," lectures to their former co-religionists on the superiority of a creed, the heads of which were often pirates, traffickers in indulgences, libertines, assassins, or poisoners, and the supervision of the Canonical laws against heretics; in short "Satan always finds some work for evil hands to do." This Pope appointed many Jews "familiars of the Inquisition."

Pius IV. (1559-1566) furnishes a timely contrast to the dark minded, fierce, brooding and capricious Paul. During the ephemeral liberty which the Jews for a moment enjoyed, they could breathe more freely. This lacuna in the persecution of the Italian Jews is to be accounted for. During the infliction of the most cruel tortures, the most inveterate tormentors have always allowed a moment's relaxation

---

(1.) As for instance in such a case, Cardinal Santaseverina in his memoirs upbraids the consistory of Cardinals (Curia) for their opposition to him. He proudly says, "They forget how I have persecuted heretics, and how I have hindered the Jews and their Talmud." Ranke's, "History of the Popes," Vol. III, page 270.

Another Cardinal—Bolognetto—plans seven items for the restoration of the hagiarcy, we give three :—

1. Restoration of Papal authority.
2. Persecution of heretics.
3. Reformation of the Clergy, methods of restraining the licentious lives of scandalous priests. Ranke, Vol. III, p. 253.

of the rack or a temporarily discontinued infliction of the Spanish boot; not to ease the agony of the sufferer, but either to nerve the prisoner for greater and renewed pain, or to save the flickering spark of life. So it is in the history of an oppressed people. Were it not ordained by a prescient Providence that cruel persecutions should have alternations of concession a nation would soon be blotted out of the page of history. So much for this hiatus!

In 1562 Pius gave an audience to the representatives of the Roman Jews and as a result of their earnest representations granted them a decretal, revoking many of Paul's cruel institutions affecting their brethren. Of course he hampered his concessions with many restrictions, in some few instances rendering them absolutely nugatory, but his just and clement rule of four years presents a pleasing antithesis to that of his intolerant predecessor.

Pius V (1566-1573) one of the fiercest and most vindictive of bigots known to history gave the question "Of the Jews and their abominable heresies" a high place in his agenda. Pius (afterwards canonised) was possessed by an innate love of religious persecution in all its forms, and torturing was his penchant. In the very first year of his shameful pontificate he fulmined a Bull in which every concession and natural right ever granted or sold by his predecessors to the Jews was declared null. This arbitrary despot governed them with a tyrannical hand and made the most whimsically cruel ordinances against them. The programme of Innocent III, his exemplar, was refurbished. He ordered the re-assuming of the "green cap," which had fallen into desuetude during the reign of Pius IV, and the Jewish veil, which the Italian females of that race had for four years doffed, had again to be worn. Pius, like Paul IV, forbade the Jews to employ Christian nurses, midwives, doctors, surgeons or servants of either sex. He allowed only one small and scantily appointed synagogue in each city and shut them out from all avocations other than that of dealing in old clothes and iron. This Pope laid the most puerile and untenable charges against the Jews, accusing them of hating the Christians in their hearts and thinking them to be idolators. He imprisoned many of his Hebrew victims and made a huge bonfire of hundreds of copies of the Talmud, the publication of which Leo X had so strongly recommended. But the fact of Leo X being a mere deist may have had something to do with this. The prisoners were examined as to the teachings of the Talmud and the Rabbins, and worried to make some incriminating remarks. This failing, the prisoners were ordered to be removed to the torture chamber and again "Examined." Several died in agony, others made most prolix and wonderful statements. The Rabbi

Chanina of Bologna had the courage to declare, even when under torture, that if he might confess anything during the unconsciousness, which would follow his sufferings, such confession would be untruthful and worthless. As however others had confessed to slanders uttered by Jews against Christians, the Curia had a plea in defence of its outrages and excesses. Saint Pius having dragged out the desired confessions on the rack now proceeded to avenge them. His first move was to order all the wealthy Jews not to attempt to quit Rome until he made his pleasure known to them, but the sentinels of the city, as amenable to the blandishments of Jewish gold as the Popes themselves, connived at their secret egress. This so enraged Pius, who had counted on their being safely trapped, that he ordered the Jews of all the Papal states to quit their homes within three months ; those who remained would be sold into slavery by public auction (1569.) The Roman Jews together with those of Ancona were alone exempted from the decree of banishment. Thus no less than seventy-two communities of Jews were compelled to tearfully quit their homes. So vast a number of innocent and harmless people were expatriated by the whim of a man, whose brains were addled by bigotry. The concession that those who abjured Judaism were to be allowed to remain affected very few, they almost to a soul preferred expatriation to apostasy. They would not prove recreant to the creed for adhering to which they were so cruelly persecuted. These exceptions—Roman Jews, those of Ancona and the acceptors of Christianity cast doubt on the charges[1] (Magic, hating Christians and ruining the Ecclesiastical states.) Two reasons were assigned for the exception, one that of a Pope, the other that of a politician. The first was that he retained them in his capital, so that Christians by seeing them might be put in mind of the passion of the Son of God, and that the Jews themselves might become less wicked by being in the neighbourhood of the Holy See.[2] The other and true reason was that they were useful in carrying on the trade with the East and in replenishing the Papal exchequer.[3] The expulsion of the Jews from Avignon and Venaissin both under the jurisdiction of the clergy,

(1.) Graetz.

(2.) "The Court of Rome from its cradle and insusceptible of reform was strong in proportion as the ignorance of the people was great. It appears from a decree of the eleventh session of the Council of Lateran, that some ecclesiastics derived an income from the stews, and Innocent VIII had found it necessary to renew by a bull published in April, 1488, the institution of Pius II forbidding priests to keep butcheries, taverns, gaming houses and brothels and to be the go-betweens of courtezans." Legge, "The Temporal Power of the Papacy," page 80.

(3.) Graetz. Vol. iv., page 629.

then a most vicious and evil body of men,[1] soon followed; and the inhuman manner in which it was conducted rendered many wealthy and learned men, men who had done service to Literature, Art, Science and Philosophy, homeless and impoverished. St. Pius was instrumental, or rather the leading spirit, of inducement to the Venetian Doge and "Council of Ten's" passing a barbarous resolution in favour of the expulsion of the Jewish residents in Venice. Owing to the friction which existed between Turkey and Venice, all the Turkish Jews in Venetian waters—mainly Levantine Merchants—were imprisoned, and the decree issued that was to banish the native members of the Hebrew faith. In 1573 after the Turkish victory over the Venetians, this expulsion was declared of non-effect and Jews were allowed to resettle, the Venetian state appointing a clever Jew to treat for them with Turkey, which was also represented by a Jewish Ambassador. During the entire pontificate of the truculent Pius, the Italian Jews, particularly those unfortunate enough to be domiciled in the Church States, were sunk in the very slough of misery. They were living in—next to Spain—the most bigoted country in Europe, and after being declared personal enemies to Christ and the Catholic Church, their lot was most unenviable. Pius taxed his Jews most heavily, but in this he was following the international etiquette of Europe. In Ranke's "History of the Popes" (vol. III, page 151) we find among other items in the Papal revenue,—"From the malefactors of Rome 2000 scudi, from imposts or contracts 8000 scudi, tithes of ecclesiastical States 3000, double tithes of the Hebrews 9855 scudi." We can see how large this sum was by remembering that all Milan only paid 40,000 scudi.

Gregory XIII (1573-1585) followed in the footsteps of his black-hearted predecessor. He had already as a Jesuit won golden opinions among the members of that order for his fierce hatred of all heretics. He fenced the Roman Jews around with a code of the most Brahminical minuteness regulating their every action by law. He vented his gall against those Christians, who allowed themselves to be attended by Jewish physicians, notwithstanding the fact that they represented almost the whole medical skill of Europe. He rendered it criminal for Jews to even speak with one of the myriads of their unhappy and hounded brethren proscribed by the "Holy Office," and threatened any one "wicked enough" to assist a wretched co-religionist, with transportation, the galleys, or in "obstinate" cases, which were very frequent,

(1.) This was during the very period in which Neander tells us, the clergy were commanded "not to frequent the public houses for the purpose of drinking or to get drunk away from them, not to appear with the marks of intoxication, not to keep dogs and falcons, not to come to the altar with side swords or spurs on."

the stake or strangulation. Gregory made it culpable to be in possession of the Talmud, and appointed commissioners to search for copies of that proscribed work and to burn them. It went hard with those found studying them, they were cruelly punished. Gregory's great innovation was to attach a large bull to the gates of the ghetto, forbidding in the most forcible language the possession or reading of the blasphemous Talmud or the criticism of Catholic doctrines and customs. Hugo Buoncompagni had been long before his transformation into Gregory XIII, a most rabid and ultra-energetic conversionist, and showed himself much more solicitous for the spiritual than the physical welfare of his Jews. His plan was not torture or forcible baptism, but sermons in which the sufferings of themselves and their ancestors, together with their prospective sufferings were to be expatiated upon, and thus to move them to accept the Gospel and "grace everlasting in the blood of the Lamb." The most eloquent preachers, men capable of raising clouds of rhetorical dust, were engaged at the most liberal salaries, which the Jews had themselves to pay. Every festival and on certain Sunday they had to assemble, and their ears were examined on entering the churches, for they were suspected of stopping them with cotton. Overseers were appointed to see that the Jews remained awake during the two hours' sermon delivered to them.[1] All Jews over twelve years old who absented themselves were heavily fined. So cruelly did Gregory persecute them that many left their homes of their own accord.

Sixtus V. (1585-90.) varied his predecessor's enactments upon the Jews, and allowed them free and unrestricted residence in the Ecclesiastical States, as also the rights of free commerce. He forbade the Knights of Malta when travelling from Europe to the Levant or *vice versa*, to make slaves of Jews found *en route*, a practice to which these consecrated champions of the Faith had hitherto been addicted. The order of Gregory XIII compelling Jews to attend conversionist sermons was not interfered with, for the reason that Sixtus was unable to venture so far as to abrogate every law in operation against them. The Roman Jews had much to thank this Pope for. He sold them for 2000 Scudi a permission to reprint the Talmud, but he arranged for the deletion of certain passages, principally in tractate "Gittin," objected to by a censor, who advised Sixtus to expunge them. Sixtus no doubt desired to adopt Pius IV's attitude upon the Talmud. Pius had laid it down that it was fallacious to condemn the entire Talmud, but imperative to remove certain extracts, which might be construed into derogations of Catholicism.

(1.) Israel Abrahams, M.A. "Jewish Life in the Middle Ages," page 417.

Clement VIII (1592-1605) proceeded to the last extremes of oppression. From his accession he had revealed a most inflexible hatred of the Jews, and in 1593 he published a ferocious edict banishing them from the States of the Church. Like Pius V. he excluded certain nominated communities from being expelled ; those of Rome, Ancona, and Avignon. These he legislated for with all the fury of Paul IV. They were not to leave their ghettos—a few unhealthy streets—after sunset, or appear in public on Christian festivals. They were not to read or even own copies of the Talmud, a provision which also applied to the expurgated editions, and all works of Rabbinical casuistry. On the representations of the Milanese bishops he expelled the Jews from that province, in which Draper tells us nearly every priest had not only purchased his preferment, but lived with a concubine. The morals of the Roman clergy were certainly no better[1] and the words of Nicholas of Clemangis, who had long before written a caustic and grief-stricken book. " The Corruptions of the Church," were as true in Clement's pontificate as they had been in Innocent VIII.'s[2]

In 1593 the capricious tyrant expelled the Hebrew residents of Lodi, Pavia, and Cremona, for no other reason than that they were heretics. The Jews of Ferrara were likewise to have been banished, but the Duke and the nobles of that city, realising the value and moral worth of its so fiercely hated inhabitants, absolutely refused to obey Clement, and in direct defiance of his orders gave them a documentary promise of five years unmolested residence in Ferrara.

Innocent XI (1676-1689) laid very great stress upon the importance of the sermons instituted by Gregory. When he was informed that the involuntary auditors placed cotton wool in their ears, when in church, spat, laughed, chatted with each other and otherwise—in

---

(1.) Men of the most criminal character. " Poverty, chastity, and brotherly kindness " were the sworn duties of the richest and most sensual, and most unpitying society which ever existed. White, page 318.

(2.) Neander, in summing-up Nicholas' contentions says, (Vol. IX., page 84,) " He goes through the several orders and offices of the Church for the purpose of pointing out the corruption of them all. He describes the worldly pride and state of the Cardinals, who when they had been raised from the lowest rank and from the humblest offices to that highest dignity, as, for example, from the condition of grave-diggers, wholly forgot what they once were and looked down upon all the other spiritual offices of the Church with disdain. He reproached them with their luxurious habits of living, accused them of grasping at all the benefices, of practising simony."

" The scandalous lives of the priests, he says, " many taken from the plough make them both offensive and sources of corruption to the communities." They could very often not read and oft did not know the alphabet let alone Latin. Brought up without learning in idleness, they busied themselves in looking out for their pleasures feasting and sporting.

the opinion of Cardinal Barberini, marred their own prospects of salvation—he forbade the delivery of the sermons in Church and ordered them to be given in unconsecrated buildings. "All in vain," wrote the Cardinal, "though we send an inspector to strike those who interrupt, the incredulous Jews will not be converted."

Sequent upon some frightful outrage upon Jews in Podolia, where the trite and foul charge of murdering a Christian child and using its blood for the passover ritual had been again vivified, Pope Clement XIII (1758-1769) found it necessary to appoint a commission—over which he himself presided—to make a thorough and impartial inquiry into this vexed and oft reiterated indictment. Like Innocent IV he came to the conclusion that the charge was a malicious and ignorant calumny and unworthy of the credence of any sentient being.

Shortly before the French Revolution the Pope issued a bull against the Jews. "Jews and Christians," one paragraph of it reads, "are forbidden to play, eat, drink, hold intercourse or exchange confidence of ever so trifling a nature with one another. Such shall not be allowed in palaces, houses or vineyards, in the streets, in taverns, in neither shops nor any other place. Nor shall the tavern keepers, innkeepers, or shop proprietors permit any intercourse between Jews and Christians. The Jews who offend in this matter shall be fined ten scudi or be imprisoned, Christians incur a similar fine and corporal punishment."

In 1825 Pope Pius VIII counteracted the effect of Napoleon's liberation of the Jews being felt in Italy by plunging them into the darkness of the Middle Ages. This roaring bigot made them quit their mansions and villas and penned them into a dingy and squalid "Jewish quarter." The distinguishing mark prescribed by the "Council of the Lateran" had again to be worn in a conspicuous position and the "Sermons" were re-instituted and attendance at them enforced by law.

Pius IX (1846-1878) during the early portion of his eventful occupancy of the Papal Chair showed fitful gleams of tolerance and perspicuity of vision, but towards its close the latent spirit of monachism asserted itself, and he evinced the bitterest hostility to the Jews, whom, despite Maguire's remarkable statements upon his clemency towards them,[1] he often wronged. His hands were somewhat tied by the current of political events, yet the "Edgar Mortara" case, together with some of his personal remarks are signs of his fanatical sentiments.

In 1858 a Jewish family residing in Bologna was visited by some Familiars of the Inquisition and had the mortification to witness the removal of one of its members, a lad aged six, who was forcibly taken

(1.) Life of Pio Nono.

from them. It appears that a Catholic servant in their employ had effected the clandestine baptism of the boy when a baby in arms, by covertly conveying him to a church and submitting him to a priest. Edgar was immured in a cloister and, notwithstanding the indefatigable efforts of his agonized parents, who left no stone unturned to procure his release, they never saw him again. The French government, Napoleon III himself, protested against this shocking kidnapping, but nothing availed, the Pope was indefeasible. The unbending Pius who had like Pius VIII forced the Roman Jews back to the crowded ghettos, was not to be induced to order his liberation. The boy was reared on the approved monastic principles of the period, and was irretrievably lost to his family and his nation.

Of Leo XIII aud his specific attitude towards the Jews, it is difficult, perhaps impossible to write. On the one hand the particular policy he pursues towards them is clement and sympathetic. He is against all forms of persecutions whether religious or civil.[1] On the other it might be pleaded that his powers are both limited and vigorously defined.

Let us trust that those who follow him will be imbued with the tolerant spirit of the age, and that they will wield whatever religious or civil influence they may possess in the grand causes of liberty of conscience and freedom of thought.

(1.) Cardinal Vaughan in a recent interview.

CHAPTER VIII.

COUNCILS AND CANONS.

"O God, the proud are risen against me, and the assemblies of violent men have sought after my soul; and have not set Thee before them.—*Psalm lxxxvi.*, 14.

WE shall presume to take licence and survey a longer period in this chapter than we are entitled to do; for it is better to err on the side of giving too much information than on that of giving too little.

Let us commence with a few words on the Council of Elvira, 304 A.D. Three of its Canons, (16, 49 and 50,) concern the Jews, and show the terror with which the hagiarchy of Spain regarded the relationship of Jews and Christians. The first of these declares it punishable, by excommunication for five years, for Christians to give their daughters in marriage to Jews and other schismatics. The 49th canon orders the agriculturists of the peninsula professing the Christian faith to no longer permit their produce to be blessed by Jews or even in the Hebrew formula. "Should any person presume to do so after this interdiction, let him be entirely ejected from the Church." Canon 50 declares that, "If any person whether clerical or one of the faithful shall take food with Jews, he is to abstain from our communion that he may learn to amend."

A sentence in Canon 78, also refers to the Jews. It prohibits Christians from holding sexual intercourse with Jewesses or pagan women, as if it was permissible to do so with Christian women. The Council of Vannes, (in France,) 415, forbade the clergy, both regular and secular, to attend at Jewish festivals or at banquets given by members of that faith. Not satisfied with this inhibition, the "Council of Epaone," 517, at the direction of Bishop Avitus extended this prohibitive canon to the laity, thus thinking to seriously impair the connection existing between the two creeds.

"The third Council of Orleans," held in 538, renewed this law. Apparently it had fallen into desuetude and the decree of a Council was requisite to secure its obedient observation.

"The fourth Council of Orleans," (545,) forbade the Jews to receive Christians into their faith or to appear in the public squares during the "Holy Week." The reason assigned shows beyond refutation the anti-Jewish feeling of the French Clergy, "because their appearance is an insult to Christianity." Childebert I was evidently struck with the beauty of this canon, for in 554 he issued a royal decree ordering the entering of this fanatical law into the Frankish constitution. King Chilperic, a bloody bigot, who forced many Jews at the edge of the sword to feign apostasy from Judaism, ratified the decrees of the "Council of Macon," which among several other intolerant enactments stipulated that "No Jew shall hold any military, civil, or official position." The decree forbidding them to appear in public during Easter Week was again confirmed, perhaps to give legal colour to the many deeds of high-handed violence, which invariably followed a disregard of it on the part of the Jews. Not content with anti-Jewish legislation as it stood, a new and whimsical paragraph was inserted in the decrees of this narrow-headed Council, for it resolved that "No Jew shall seat himself nor demean himself other than reverently in the presence of a priest.

The "Third Council of Toledo" 589, convened by Reccared the first Catholic Visigothic King devoted two paragraphs to the Jews (14 and 24.) The first of these forbids Jews to have Christian wives or mistresses; all children already born of such connections were to be baptized. Jews were not to possess or circumcise Christian slaves nor hold judicial offices. The second prohibits under a fine of six ounces of gold the Jews from singing the psalms of David at Jewish funerals.

In 615 the "Council of Paris" re-ordained the decrees of Macon and added many new and capricious provisions, notably one that no Jew was to hold any position of trust whatsoever.

Sisebut, in 612, ordered that Jews were to have no Christian servants and conjured his subjects to rigidly adhere to the code of Reccared. "At this period the Jews had attained unexampled prosperity in the peninsula; they were to a great extent the cultivators of the soil, which rewarded their patient industry with the most ample return and often the administrators of the finances for which they were well qualified by their knowledge of trade. Bigotry, envy and avarice conspired to point them out as objects of persecution. Laws were passed of which the spirit may be comprehended from the preamble. Laws concerning the promulgation and ratification of statutes against Jewish wickedness, and for the general extirpation of Jewish errors."[1] Sisebut made the

(1.) Milman, "History of the Jews."

most savage laws against that people; he thus terminates his decrees: "May the King, who dares to abolish these laws, incur the deepest disgrace in this world and the eternal torments of hell in the flames of purgatory in the world to come."

A few of Sisebut's fiercest decrees were:—"That the Jews may not celebrate the Passover or any of their Sabbaths or festivals according to their usage." "That the Jews may not contract marriage or perform the rites of interment according to their own customs nor may they practise circumcision." "That the Jews make no distinction of meats." He provided, as had Reccared, "that a Jew was incapable of bringing an action either civil or criminal against a Christian until he "received the grace of baptism." A Jew might not even give evidence in a case, as his appearance in a public court was invalidated, as also his right to purchase or circumcise slaves, though the whole nation were unable to dispense with them in their fields, houses and places of business. Not content with making laws obviously intended to destroy the practice of the Jewish faith in his dominions, he proceeded to the last extreme of tyranny and ordered all the Jews, who refused baptism, almost the entire number, to leave his kingdom.[1] After taking such steps as rendered their departure impossible, "Ninety thousand Jews were compelled to receive the sacrament of baptism, the fortunes of the obstinate infidels were confiscated, their bodies were tortured, and it seems doubtful whether they were permitted to abandon their native country. The excessive zeal of the Catholic King was moderated even by the Clergy of Spain, who solemnly pronounced an inconsistent sentence, "that the Sacraments should not be forcibly imposed, but that the Jews who had been baptized should be constrained for the honour of the Church to persevere in the external practice of a religion which they disbelieved and detested. Their frequent relapses provoked one of the successors of Sisebut to banish the whole nation from his dominions and a Council of Toledo published a decree "that every Gothic King should swear to maintain this salutary edict."[2] Although as we have seen, vast numbers had been imprisoned, tortured, and murdered with the King's approval, many were compelled to emigrate from the Gothic empire and seek homes elsewhere. France, at that

(1.) The intolerant spirit which could find neither idolaters nor heretics was reduced to the persecution of the Jews. Gibbon, "Decline and Fall." Vol. V.

(2.) The various orders of expulsion issued by the Visigothic Kings were not always thoroughly carried into execution. "The tyrants were unwilling to dismiss their victims, whom they delighted to torture or to deprive themselves of the industrious slaves over whom they might exercise a lucrative oppression. The Jews still continued in Spain under the weight of the civil and ecclesiastical laws, which in the same country have been faithfully transcribed in the code of the Inquisition." Gibbon's, "Decline and Fall," Vol. V, Page 106.

time fairly tolerant to dissidents from Christianity, received them most cordially. When in 621 Sisebut died, the vast majority of those who had accepted Christianity joyfully reverted to their former creed.

The "Fourth Council of Toledo" (633) under the presidency of St. Isidor, Bishop of Seville, gave a great amount of attention to those Jews, who having involuntarily accepted Christianity had immediately after Swintila's repeal of Sisebut's laws returned to Judaism, and enacted that they should be violently withheld from the practice of Jewish customs. Among other monstrous decisions, it was decreed (Canon 60) that the Jewish children were to be torn from their unbelieving parents and immured in monasteries, there to be brought up in the Christian religion, the tenets of which they were to learn from the monks. Canon 58 bitterly upbraids those bishops, ecclesiastics and laymen, who had sold their protection to the Jews, calls them Anti-Christ's sons, and declares it right that they should be severed from the body of Christ who make themselves patrons of Christ's enemies.

Canon 59 reads,—"Many who have been formerly elevated to the Christian faith are now known, in contempt of Christ, not only to practise Jewish ceremonies, but have even dared to practise the abomination of circumcision. By the advice of our most pious and religious prince, Sisenand the King, this holy synod hath declared that such transgressors, being apprehended on the authority of the prelates, shall be recalled to the true worship according to Christian doctrine, so that those who will not amend of their own accord may be compelled by sacerdotal correction. Should such persons as they may have circumcised be children of the above, they shall be taken from the society of their parents, and if slaves, they shall be liberated in compensation for the injury." It would appear from this that the Jews tenaciously clung to the creed of their ancestors. Another savage paragraph of this code enacted that any convert—one of those who had during Sisebut's furious persecution professed to abjure Judaism—discovered holding intercourse or even conversing with one of the seed of Abraham was to become a slave, and moreover the Jew sufficiently depraved to commit the flagitious crime of giving food or shelter to his suffering kinsman was to be scourged in the market square. These provisions were for those who had fallen prey to either the fanaticism or the greed[1] of their Catholic masters. Yet in strange contradiction to its

(1.) The wealth which they accumulated by trade and the management of the finances invited the pious avarice of their masters; and they might be oppressed without danger since they had lost the use and even the remembrance of arms. "Gibbon."

principal ordinances the Fourth Council of Toledo had asserted that men ought not to be compelled to believe, because "God will have mercy on whom He will have mercy and whom He will He hardeneth;" but as already said, it took care to add a number of laws, one of which abrogated Swintila's permission to the enforced converts to return to their creed for, "As they had received the Blessed Sacrament, the Holy name of God would be blasphemed and the faith disgraced by their falling off."

Canon 65 reads,—"By command of the most excellent Lord and King Sisenand, this Holy Council has decreed that Jews and their descendants are not to hold public employments, as scandal would thereby be given to Christians: therefore provincial judges together with ecclesiastics are to prevent their fraudulently obtaining such employments and their succeeding therein. Should any judge tolerate such proceedings, he is to be excommunicated the same as for sacrilege, and the person that obtains the office shall be publicly scourged."[1]

Chintilla, a man after the mind of Sisebut, made it one of the first of his royal duties to convene the Sixth Council at which was considered "Means for the extirpation of Jewish abuses, (638)." It was decided, (Canon 3,) that Jews and all others who refused to embrace the Christian religion were to be banished from the Visigothic empire, and also in thanking God that he had given them a sovereign so burning with Catholic zeal, enacted that "whosoever in future shall obtain the sovereignty shall not ascend the throne till he has sworn not to permit the Jews to infringe this holy faith, and in no wise to be seduced either through neglect or cupidity to favour their perfidy."[2] Thus we find a monarch professing the Christian faith, solemnly swearing to persecute; and promising not to permit those who had been terrified into nominal apostacy to revert to their still secretly observed creed.

---

(1) Lindo's translation which we use almost exclusively in quoting Canons.

(2) We give the full Canon from Lindo's solid "History of the Jews of Spain and Portugal;" a work to which we are greatly indebted. "The inflexible treachery of the Jews has, by piety and divine grace, been overcome, for inspired by the most High God, our most excellent and Christian prince, inflamed with ardour for the faith, together with the clergy of his kingdom, has resolved to destroy their prevarication and superstition to the utmost, by not permitting residence of any person in the land who is not a Catholic. For which zeal we give thanks to the Almighty King of Heaven, that he has created so illustrious a soul and endued it with wisdom. May he grant him a long life in this world and everlasting glory in the future. We therefore now decree and confirm what has hitherto been enacted in general synod respecting the Jews, seeing that all requisite for their salvation has been done with circumspection. We now declare all such edicts to be valid."

Chindasvinto, who had obtained the throne by usurpation, secured the support of the clergy by ratifying the Canons of the "Ninth Council of Toledo," Canon 20 of which strictly abjures all baptized Jews to observe the Fasts and Festivals of the Catholic Church under pain of flogging, (651.)

Chintilla had forced the Jews in detail to sign a document renouncetheir "Jewish malpractices;" and the converts, who had reverted to Judaism at the very first opportunity, had been severely handled, yet they remained staunch to Judaism and its teachings. During the reigns of the few preceding monarchs, the clergy had had the upper hand in the administration and could often by their intrigues, the monarchy being elective, crown or depose a monarch. Chidaswinth, however, was the first to successfully liberate himself from the trammels, with which they had harassed his royal predecessors, and no doubt desiring to mortify the clergy (whom it was his policy to openly defy) risked the flames of purgatory and rescinded the stringent laws against forced converts from Judaism. The "Tenth Council of Toledo," (656,) renewed the persecution of the Jews, and denounced those of the clergy who either sold their slaves or their protection to Israelites.

Receswinth at once entered upon a violent crusade against his Jewish subjects as also all other heretics. His gall was mainly directed against the converts to whom his father had conceded liberty of conscience. He convoked an assembly of ecclesiastical dignitaries and directed them to deal rigorously with the Jews, more especially those who had formerly feigned (to save their lives) to be Christians. In his speech from the throne to the assembled prelates he says, "It is because I have learned that my kingdom is polluted by them as by an epidemic, that I denounce the life and behaviour of the Jews, for while the Almighty has entirely freed the country from heresy, a disgraceful desecration of the Churches still continues. This shall either be reformed by our piety or rooted out by our severity. I mean that many of the Jews still persist in their old unbelief, while others though purified by baptism have relapsed so deeply into the errors of apostasy, that their blasphemy seems even more abominable than the sin of those, who have not been baptized. I adjure you herefore to decree against the Jews without favour or respect of persons some measure which shall be agreeable to God and to our faith."[1] Right royally did the "Eighth Council of Toledo" obey the behest of Receswinth. The Christian neophytes were compelled to remain Christians and formally

(1) Prof. Graetz, vol. III, page 104.

abjure their former creed. Many attempted to flee the country, but all means of egress were closed and impassable. Although they were not expelled the country, the numerous anti-Jewish decrees of the different and preceding anti-Jewish councils were re-enacted.[1] No Jew was to hold public trust or to appear as a witness against or be prosecutor of a Christian. They were not to possess Christian servants or enjoy any civil rights. The furious Receswinth, finding all his persecutions and councils unable to restrain the clandestine observance of the Jewish religion, prepared a document which he compelled every Jew in Toledo to sign[2]—those who attempted to hide themselves were severely punished—in which they accepted Christ as their Master and deplored the blind obstinancy that had withheld them from keeping their promise to Chintilla, and solemnly promised to henceforward guard against further relapses into Judaism, and eschew Jewish fasts, feasts and customs, the circumcision of their male children, distinctions in food, eating unleavened cakes on passover and many other specified crimes. They were compelled to swear by the Trinity that they bitterly regretted having—immediately a new monarch had mounted the throne—reverted *en masse* to their former belief, and that they attributed their numerous relapses into their abominable folly, as purely due to their perversity and stiffneckedness. The Jew taxes, however, were not remitted, for, as Graetz observes, "the treasury could not afford to lose by their change of faith." Despite the Argus-eyed monks, the many dangers and the unflagging persecution which beset them, they did not waver in their faith nor did their steadfastness desert them; they devoutly clung to their religion and in secret followed every Jewish custom as they had formerly in public: therefore in 655,

(1) Book XII, Title II, of the Visigothic Code "Laws on Heretics and Jews." Paragraph IV. "No Jew is in any manner to revile or abandon the holy Christian faith, which the saints received by baptism. No person shall impugn it by word or deed nor attack it either secretly or overtly. No one shall hide himself to avoid receiving it; nor shall any person secrete one that he may escape. No Jew shall in future think to return to his errors and excommunicated religion. No one shall imagine, utter or by any act publish the deceitful religion of the Jews which is contrary to that of Christians. No one shall attempt by force to infringe or to murmur against the Christian establishments. No person shall harbour any one acquainted with the said prohibitions nor delay giving information against the persons, who hide one and the place where he is secreted. Whoever transgresses what we here ordain shall receive the punishment the law enacts." The King, Don Receswinthus, paragraphs II and III prohibit the Jews under the severest penalties from celebrating the Passover, Sabbath or any Jewish festivals or their marriage with Jews or according to the Jewish ritual. Paragraphs VII to VIII forbid circumcision and distinctions of food. Paragraphs IX and X declare a Jew's witness invalid, because "those who are faithless to God cannot be true to man" and also "infidels should not be believed with Christians."

(2) See Delastro's "Jews in Spain." ad locum.

he, by the advice of the higher clergy, promulgated an ordinance commanding the Jews to spend both Jewish and Christian festivals under the superintendence of the fanatical monks. All over they were harried and robbed on grounds identical with those which have furnished every anti-Semitic crusade from first to last.[1]

Wamba, a pliant tool in the hands of the nobles and clergy, who had thrust the crown upon him, a man who finally succumbed to his monastic longings and entered a monastery, was the next king, and obediently to the hortative utterances of the priesthood drove almost the entire body of Jews from his kingdom, 672.

His successor Ervig, whose mode of obtaining the throne we had better not too rigidly inquire into, seems by some curious form of *Dalai-Lamaism* to have inherited his anti-Jewish prejudices. He called the "Twelfth Council of Toledo" to consider the "execrable perfidy of the Jews." This conciliary gathering approved of a ferocious code of laws, the object of which appears to have been to goad the Jews into desperation. Assembling the principal courtiers and ecclesiastical dignitaries to the council, he harangued them on the godlessness of tolerating the Jews. "With tears streaming from my eyes," he said "I implore this honourable assembly to manifest its zeal and free the land from its degeneracy! Arise! Arise! I cry unto you; put to the test the laws against the apostacy of the Jews, which we have just promulgated." The cruel and bigoted Council, then placing the royal programme before it, began its deliberations and finally ordered a policy startling but not novel. It was ordained that all Jews in Spain—a numerous and already ancient body—their families and Jewish servants, must within twelve months offer themselves for baptism, otherwise their property would be confiscated. Should they persist in refusing to appear when summoned by a priest, they were to receive one hundred lashes upon the naked body; the skin was to be torn off their heads and foreheads, and they were then to be ignominiously thrust from the country. Any Catholic hiding a Jew or possessing a servant of that denomination was commanded to deliver him up to the demand of any priest, it being laid down that "the duty of distinguishing Jews belongs solely to priests."

Bishops had to muster and upbraid the Jews upon stipulated days and furnish all male Hebrews with a book "against their errors." Magistrates were not to try any "matter of Jewish transgression;" this was reserved for priests.

"That Jews shall not abstain themselves nor withhold their children or slaves from baptism."

(1) "History of Spain." G. Watts, page 225.

"That Jews shall not celebrate the Passover as accustomed, nor dissuade any one from the Christian faith."

"That Jews shall not presume to observe the Sabbath or any festival of their religion."

"That Jews shall not work on the Lord's Day, nor on other specified days."

"That Jews shall make no distinction of food."

"That Jews shall no more marry near relations."

"That Jews shall not dare to defend their religion to the disparagement of ours, nor flee anywhere to avoid the faith, nor shall any person harbour such."

"That Jews shall not read books abhorred by the Christian faith."

"That no Christian slave shall belong to Jews."

"That unconverted slaves of Jews receiving the Christian faith shall receive their freedom."

"Any person having a Jew in his service shall deliver him up on the demand of any priest."

"That a Jew arriving from any other province or territory of our dominions shall without delay present himself before the bishop or priest of the place, and what is proper he shall observe."[1]

So runs part of Canon 9.

Jews already converted came in for a much more terrible code, for a system of supervision which outdid all its predecessors was addressed to them. They were summoned to the "Church of the Holy Virgin" at Toledo, and the previously ratified laws were read out to them; they were each compelled to possess a copy that they might not plead ignorance of their existence. These books stated that "the crafty Jews having eluded all previous laws against Judaising," it was necessary to stringently enforce the present code. This provided that any Jew blaspheming the name of Christ, rejecting the sacrament of "Our Lord's Supper" or profaning the Holy Trinity was to lose his liberty and be presented to a Christian master. A similar punishment was meted out to those Jews who worked on a Christian Sabbath or any Festival of the Church. Circumcisions of Jewish children were attended with the most awful punishments; the father was to be mangled and forfeit his liberty by being sold into slavery, the mother was to have her nose cut or burnt off, and her property was to be confiscated. To fast on the day of Atonement or the ninth of Av, observe the New Year, New Moon, Tabernacles or any other festival of the Jewish Calendar was punishable by transportation in chains, the

(1) Lindo. "The Jews of Spain and Portugal," page 22.

property and goods of the criminal passing to the lord of the soil. Observances of the Talmudic and Rabbinical injunctions were punishable by whipping and imprisonment. A Christian who received a present from a Jew to hide his practice of Judaism was to be banished from the country ; one who embraced the Jewish religion was to be put to death. Converted Jews—the clergy knew their sincerity—might not bequeath their properties or goods to their children unless they had received baptism, "but the most extraordinary fact in all this history is that not only were these laws ineffective in the conversion or extirpation of the Jews, but that there were Christians who embraced Judaism."[1] It would be impossible to give here the full code, but we add a few more of the enactments passed by this Council. "Should a Christian receive a bribe from a Jew, he was to be fined thrice the amount together with the sum received ; should he harbour or connive at the flight of one of these proscribed men, he was to be flogged and his property confiscated. The Jew who read the Talmud, or the Midrash, or polemics against Christianity, or allowed his children to do so, was to be punished by the infliction of one hundred lashes upon the bare back ; should the offence be repeated he was to be banished. Jewish slaves as we have seen, were on declaring themselves believers in the Christian doctrine set free, Christian slaves were forthwith absolved from obedience to their heretical masters. No Jew might receive or hold any office by which he might have authority over, or constrain a Christian, except in certain cases when power might be granted by the feudal lord. In such a case if he abused the law, he was punished by the forfeiture of half his goods, or by flogging, and the noble who had granted him power to perform even permissible acts was liable to a heavy fine, and in default of payment to the same ignoble and degrading punishment. No Jew might be intendant, house steward, or general overseer. Should a bishop, priest or any ecclesiastic commit the property of the Church to a Jewish intendant, his personal property was to be confiscated. If he was an irreclaimable favourer of Jews, he was to be burnt. No Jew dare travel from one town or province to another without reporting himself either to its clerical or secular authorities. They were to be forced to eat, drink and communicate with Christians, they had to obtain certificates of good behaviour,[2] without which they might not leave the town of their residence. Passports had also to be obtained and endorsed by the local

(1) Milman Vol. III, page 250.

(2) This system of granting certificates to Jews was one of the greatest annoyances of the German Jews at a later period. The Rabbi's had to be renewed every three years. This meant a triennial bribe to the clergy.

priests. On the Jewish Sabbath and holy days they were all to assemble before the bishop. He was to appoint women to look after wives and daughters.

The spiritual person who took a bribe to relax his vigilance was to be degraded and excommunicated. Whoever protected a Jew against his spiritual overseer was to be excommunicated and pay a heavy fine. No civil judge could act in any case of this kind without the concurrence of the priesthood."[1] The foregoing quotation alone would irrefutably prove that the sentiments by which the most Christian Twelfth Council of Toledo was actuated, were those of the fiercest bigotry and the bitterest hatred against the Jews. The members of this assembly were impregnated with an insatiable desire to humiliate them in every conceivable manner: but this was at a time when the specific norm of Christianity to all dissidents from its distinctive dogmas, was to either poison or assassinate them. The clergy and nobles had been solemnly conjured to stringently administer these laws and report every convert who in their cognisance had contrived to elude the vigilance of the overseers and evaded the performance of the stipulated duties. The passport law proved the most vexatious of all the restrictions, for the more brutal of the clergy took quiescent delight in placing every obstacle in the way of those applying for the valuable document, yet they might be purchased for a consideration from that body of venal and corrupt men, the Spanish clergy of the seventh century. Despite all the rabid provisions of this code, Judaism did not succumb to the ceaseless onslaughts made against it, proscribed though it was.

The Jewish converts, who had been terrified into a nominal renunciation of their creed, were so devoutly attached to it, that they were again assembled in the churches and compelled to publicly swear and subscribe to a third confession of faith, and also to lament their latest relapses into the errors from which nothing on earth could tear them—the preceding two confessions had been made under Chintilla and Receswinth.

Egica, nominated King by Ervig (687,) the last of the Visigothic Kings of Spain, outdid all his predecessors in the violence with which they had delighted to testify to their proselytising zeal. This worthy scion of a murderous dynasty of usurpers, assassins, regicides and fanatics, this re-incarnation of Sisebut, declared it illegal and punishable by confiscation for Jews or Judaising Christians, that is involuntary Jewish converts, to hold land, houses or manner of

(1) Milman.

property, to trade with the Christians of Africa, or to hold any communion with them. The Mohammedans however of that and other parts of the world proved friends to the Jews in their sorrows, and often shielded them from the persecution and tyranny of Christian Kings. "They showed an example of tolerance, such as never found imitators among those who claimed to be of the purer faith."[1] Egica desiring, for economic reasons, to put the first of these laws into practice, ordered the Treasury to seize all the real estate belonging to his Jewish subjects (692.)

In the same year the "Fourteenth Council of Toledo" was convoked, when its members were amazed to learn—and from no less reliable a source than the mouth of the zealous and impeccant King—that the Jews had conspired to massacre his subjects, destroy the monarchy and hand over the land to their friends and secret allies, the infidel Saracens.[2] Bitterly did the most Christian monarch deprecate that those new Christians, already infamous for the wicked profanation of their oaths in church, and for having shed the precious blood of Christ, should be permitted to pursue their schemes unrestrainedly. Goaded to frenzy by the royal reproaches showered upon them, they proceeded to guard against the possibility of Judaism or its observance taking any further root in Spain, by decreeing that all children of Jewish parentage were to be kidnapped and thus severed from their unbelieving parents, "lest they share their eternal punishment hereafter." "They were ordered," says Basnage, "to be imprisoned in monasteries and taught the truths and beauties of that improvement on the Jewish revelation, which demanded the kidnapping of children."

The "Sixteenth Council of Toledo" also gave much of its attention to the Jews, and devoted several of its canons to means for their reformation, and to lamentations for their stiff-neckedness and contumacy (694.)

The "Seventeenth Council of Toledo" (695) enacted (Canon 8)—"By command of our most pious King Egica, who, inflamed with zeal for the Lord and impelled with ardour for the Holy Faith, not only wishes to avenge the insult offered to Christ's cross, but to prevent by severity, the ruin they had savagely engaged to bring on his country and people, that the perjurers themselves and their posterity be deprived of all their property and possessions, the same are confiscated to the National Treasury ; that they be deprived of their homes in all provinces of Spain and be subjected to perpetual slavery under those

(1.) G. Watts. "History of Spain," page 10.

(2.) The Jews had at least much cause to complain of Christian rule under which they had been so grievously oppressed and plundered. Watts, p. 4.

he may assign them to, and so remain for ever. Nor shall any opportunity by connivance be offered them of recovering their liberty, while they continue obstinate in their unbelief, for they are branded with numberless transgressions." Other paragraphs of this canon order the Jews to sign bonds, not to elude the observance of Christian customs or follow the "perfidy" of their ancestors. "We further decree that their children of both sexes, of seven years old and upwards, are not to reside or associate with their parents, but their owners shall give them to be brought up by faithful Christians, keeping in view that the males are to be united in marriage with Christian women, and the females married to Christian men."

We will now again revert to France, for that country appears to have during the period elapsing between the ninth and seventeenth Toledan Councils, closely copied her exemplar's system of finical restrictions against the Jews. We have already spoken of the Council of Paris, which in 615, decreed that "No Jew shall bring an action at law against a Christian until he receives the grace of baptism from the Bishop," and also of King Dagobert who drove all disbelievers in Christ from his country. The Canons and decrees of the following few centuries enter however so closely into the History of the French Jews, as to enable us to speak here of the year 1178. In this year William, Governor of Montpellier, especially begged in his testament that no Jew should be admitted to any corporate office. At this period it must have been a most necessary injunction, for despite the bitter denunciations of the priesthood and the fanatical harangues of the monks, who sought to fan the bigotry of the peasantry—their great lever—into deeds resembling those of the contemporaneous German burghers, many petty vassals, governors of districts and feudal lords, had to submit their offices and the administration of their territories into Jewish hands; and although loudly deploring such a breach of faith in others invariably found themselves compelled to avail themselves of Jewish clear-headedness and sagacity.

In 1179 the Council of the Lateran under Pope Alexander III, (in opposition to whose wishes the Jews of Bologna had been guiltlessly banished) discussed the position of the Jews in general at great length. This council was mainly characterized by a mass of intrigue, almost every proposition and vote had some ulterior motive behind it. Many of the most confirmed Jew-detesting prelates were amongst the three hundred representatives of twelfth century Christendom. Fearing the publication of some cruel laws, the Jews ordered most painful fasts and austerities offering up special prayers in their synagogues. So apprehensive were they throughout all Europe that the Council had

cast a maleficent glance in their direction. They were gratified but surprised to learn that their social rights—or rather the restrictions upon them—alone had been discussed. They were however forbidden to employ Christian servants, nurses or labourers. These again were under threat of Anathema forbidden to work for Jewish employers. The many grievances under which the Jews of Europe—especially of France—laboured at the time of this Council can be readily gleaned by the few prohibitive decrees which sought to save them from absolute extirpation at the hand of Christians. It was ordained that Christians were not to violently drag Jews into churches, and despite their loud protests forcibly baptise them, that the synagogues were not to be pillaged or the worshippers whipped during the performance of Divine service. This was for ages the most popular form of monkish diversion, the looting and even burning a synagogue on the New Year or day of Atonement, or the milder course of vigorously flogging the assembled worshippers with leather thongs being regarded as an innocent, inculpable and even devout recreation.

In Spain the Council of Coyaca 1079, had enacted by its sixth Canon—"That no Christian shall reside in the same house with Jews, nor partake of their food : whoever transgresses this decree shall perform penance for seven days or refusing to do it, if a person of rank, he shall be excommunicated for a year ; if of an inferior degree, he shall receive 100 lashes."

On the 30th November, 1215, the Fourth Lateran Council was convened and presided over by that haughty and intolerant executioner, Innocent III. This assembly of clergy formulated canons which humiliated and degraded the Jews so effectually, that the lapse of several centuries was necessary to heal the cruel wounds inflicted on that memorable day. The prelates had almost to a man been reared in the tempestuous seas of persecution and blind fanaticism, all were ancillary to its president, the Arch-enemy of all Jews and heretics, i.e., disbelievers in his own divine selection, so what necessity to recount its stipulations ; all that was cruel, cowardly and oppressive in the "Jew codes" of Reccared, Sisebut, Egica and Dagobert ; all that monks, whose zeal wrought them into frantic vituperation against those who swerved a hairs-breadth from their bigoted views, had demanded ; all that degraded Kings, who by systematized tyranny and legally instituted persecution had sought to wreak their misfortunes upon them, had ordered, were marshalled before this foaming Council, who hurled them at the Jews, clothed with the authority of Canons of the Church : in the Visigothic, Byzantine and other codes they had not infrequently been but the temporal decrees of sovereigns.

Monarchs, clerics and State officials alike were adjured to exercise the strictest surveillance over their respective Jews, lest they should observe Talmudical customs. Should they do so the various degrees of punishment for addressing the God of the Patriarchs and of the founders of Christianity, and Mohammedanism were laid down with punctilious nicety. As in the code of Egica, the clergy were invested with practically unlimited power over the Jews, and owing to the very remote prospect of an appeal to a tribunal, the influence they used was despotic. The ignorant awe and crude logic of the people on the one hand, and the utter antipathy of the higher clergy on the other, precluded the hated Hebrews from the protection of those, who were occasionally ordered to restrain the licentiousness, the criminality, and the seditionary proclivities of the Catholic clergy ; the dissolute and shameful lives of the monks, and the venality, rapacity and lust of the various orders just as much as their terrible outrages upon the Jews. "The sins of the Jews must distinguish them from believers," said Innocent. "Did not Moses prescribe for them a special dress?" No doubt the fanatical Mohammedan Caliph Hakim who had ordered his Hebrew subjects to wear a rope in the place of a girdle and a huge and hideous bonnet in the place of a turban, was called to memory by the cruel Pope. This same Church Council decreed that all above the age of twelve years were to wear a broad green badge on their hats and Jewesses above the same tender age a similar distinctive mark in their bonnets. "Provincial councils, State Assemblies and Royal cabinets were immediately formed to consider as to the exclusion of the Jews from all honours and offices and also to determine on the colour, or length, and breadth of the Jewish badge with pedantic thoroughness, whether it should be a badge square or round in form, of saffron, yellow or some other colour on the hat, or on the mantle. As this symbol of Judaism was a provocation for the mob to insult the wearers and to bespatter them with mud, it was also a hint to the ignorant populace to fall upon, illtreat, and even kill them ; and it afforded an opportunity for the better class to treat the Jews as the lowest of mankind, to levy contributions on them, or to exile them from the land."[1] Thus we see that religion, when established on the basis of oppressing those who dissent from its particular tenets and dogmas, could without hesitancy frame a code of laws and regulations as violent and savage as those of a Hadrian or a Caligula, when aided in its enforcement by military strength, and with political aims to serve. The paramount asteism of this Council in professing to feel a regard for the numerous grievances under which the wretched Israelites laboured renders their decrees whimsically cruel. Adverting to the Jew badge and the

argument that Moses had covertly ordained it, an eminent historical scholar says, "It was a precaution as feeble as this statement is false, the sage provision really secured that the Christian stones should reach the heads for which they were intended."

The Council of Oxford (1222) summoned and presided over by Stephen Langton, Archbishop of Canterbury, was "called to rectify some of the evils of the Church;" simony, impurity, usury are all provided with fit punishment. "Let there be in every dean's district two or three men having God before their eyes, who at the command of the Archbishop or his official may denounce to them the public excesses of prelates, priests and other clergy," was one of its utterances.[2] This council gave a great amount of attention to the English Jews, who were in so oppressed a position that they had to periodically purchase from the Kings permission to trade. No doubt their nidulant characteristics together with their inalienable attachment to their creed was the source of bitter grief to that ecclesiastic. He could the more readily submit the Jews to his malignant programme, and better detrencate their religion on account of the tractable boy King Henry entrusting at that period almost the royal prerogative into his counsellor's hand. Langton had shown himself a frantic Jew-hater, and his roaring fanaticism found an outlet in the decrees of this council.

The Canons of the Lateran Council (1215) were almost all ratified for adoption in England, this being a formal confirmation of their validity and adoption in this country.

Some of the principal Canons added were (1) "That no new synagogue shall under any circumstances be erected, nor shall any decorations adorn those already in existence."

(2) "That the Jews were to give tithes to the clergy, pay an annual and additional tax to the Church and be vigorously constrained to wear Jew badges, but a different one prescribed by the famous, or rather infamous Council, from whose debates they sought their pabulum; a woollen stripe four fingers in length and two in breadth. It would be about twelve inches by six. The colours were to be most strikingly different from the garments to which they were affixed, a blue garment a red badge, a white garment a black badge."

"To prevent the mixture of the Jewish men and women with Christians of each sex we charge by authority of the general Council, the Jews of both sexes to wear a linen cloth, two inches broad, four fingers long, of a different colour from their own clothes on their upper garments before their breast and that they may be compelled to this

(1.) Graetz, Vol. iii, page 538.

(2.) "Life of Stephen Langton," page 150.

by ecclesiastical censure. And let them not presume to enter into any Church and to lodge their goods there. If they do let them be corrected by the Bishop."

The next Canon to this deals with the English clergy. "Whereas some do, which we cannot speak without tears, spend their ecclesiastical revenues in building houses on lay fees for their sons, nephews, nay for their concubines, and so misapply the goods of the church designed for the use of the poor. Now we decree that those who are suspected to do this, or to give money for the doing of it, be punished at the discretion of their superior, unless they make their purgation[1] at his discretion."[2]

Stephen Langton's inflexible hatred against the Jews does not appear to have yet been sated, even by the disgraceful decrees of the Council over which he had so worthily presided. He issued an order inhibiting, under threat of ecclesiastical ban, intercourse with persons of either sex professing the Hebrew faith. He also forbade Christians to supply them with food and provisions, but for once the State interfered and exhorted all Englishmen to disregard the decretive utterance of Stephen.

Closely following the "Council of Exeter" (1227) the Council of Narbonne forbade Jews to lend Christians money on interest, a most extraordinary ordinance, seeing that by far the majority of the legislators were heavily indebted to the very men they sought to oppress. They were not to frequent the public buildings, or appear in the streets during "Holy Week." This decree was, before the rising of the Council, altered into a paragraph forbidding them to quit their houses during Easter. They were also ordered to pay a heavy Church tax for the support of the clergy. Three years later 1230, the Council of Rouen fearing a decadence of anti-Semitism solemnly ratified the Anti-Jewish code, and urged the various clerics to superintend its enforcement. "The Council of Tours" re-enacted the law that Jews were not to appear as witnesses against Christians, because, as a certain narrow-headed bigot had once said, "If the Jews are false to God how can they be true to man?" Good ratiocination indeed!

In 1235 a Council of English prelates strictly forbade those Christians, who in defiance of the ecclesiastical provisions, still worked for employers of the Jewish denomination. Many of those, who openly avowed their preference for Hebrew masters, were bitterly reprobated for their godless tendencies.

(1.) This was at the time when some of the more upright of the Cardinals were making noble but useless attempts to suppress the debaucheries, incests, concubinages and corruptness of the Roman clergy.

(2.) Dean Hook, "Lives of the Archbishops of Canterbury," vol ii, page 750.

In 1246 the Church conference of Beziers, taking painful cognisance of the skill and influence of the Jewish physicians, forbade them from practising their healing arts, although—with the exception of the Arabian doctors—the entire higher medical and surgical skill of Europe was in their hands. These myopic and jealous churchmen adjured all Christians to take no medicines from them, nor in any wise submit to their treatment however trifling. "No member of the religion of Moses shall physic a Christian." This same Council again declared the Jews ineligible for appointment to any military, civil or government post, or to any position of trust ; they were again forbidden to quit their houses during "Passover Week," "lest Christians be annoyed by their appearance." Other decrees prohibited Jews from employing Christian nurses or servants, or to sell meat or wine to members of that faith. The Jewish "Church payments" were revised and a sliding scale of ecclesiastical charges prepared.

"At this period Spain and France were full of learned Jews and perhaps partly by exerting upon the highest classes with whom they came into contact too much influence, for the physician of a Christian prince was very often the rival of his confessor, and partly because the practice of medicine as they pursued it, interfered with the gains of the Church,[1] the clergy took alarm and caused to be re-enacted the ancient laws. The Council of Alby 1254 prohibited all Christians from resorting to the services of an Israelitish physician. It would appear that these enactments had either fallen into desuetude or had failed to be enforced. The Faculty, at last awakening to the danger of the case, caused (1301) a decree to be published prohibiting either man or woman of the religion of Moses from practising medicine upon any person of the Catholic religion. A similar course was also taken in Spain. At this time the Jews were confessedly at the head of French medicine." "It was the appointment of one of their persuasion, Profatius, as regent of the "Faculty of Montpelier" 1300, which drew upon them the wrath of the faculty of Paris. The animosity of the French ecclesiastics against the Jewish physicians at last led to their banishment."[2]

In 1268 the House of Commons forbade Christian money lenders to lend money to Jews, and in 1270 forbade the latter to purchase property from Christian landlords. So bitter was the feeling against the Jews that when (in 1286) a wealthy Jew of Hereford celebrated the marriage of his daughter by a magnificent feast, Bishop Swinfield issued a pastoral letter threatening to excommunicate any Christians

(1.) Sale of Relics, etc.
(2.) Dr. Draper, Vol. ii., pages 124-125.

who attended. The Council of Vienna 1267 presided over by a Papal Nuncio confirmed *en masse* the main decisions of Innocent III and the different Popes, who had upheld the legalised oppression of the Jews, proceeding to the most violent extremes on its own account, and its session marks the instauration of new troubles for the Jews. It precluded them from holding any post whatever under a Christian, from using the public baths, frequenting the public promenades or receiving admission into Christian inns. Thus a benighted Jewish traveller might amid the most frightful storm be committing an illegal action by appealing for a night's shelter for himself and his beast. Vast sums were demanded for accommodation, but it is fortunate that the eloquence of Semitic ducats was convincing enough to move the soft-hearted, guest-pillaging, murderous German hosts of the Middle Ages. Why should it not? Were not the very Popes, Kings, Cardinals, and Bishops, who passed anti-Jewish laws, amenable to its blandishments? Christians were by this Council forbidden all intercourse with Jews; these were again forbidden to sell meat, wine or wax and commanded to wear a most hideous and disfiguring head-dress, a high pointed and horned cap somewhat like a large cone. It was doubtless feared the badges and veils already ordered to be worn might not plainly enough mark them to their enemies, and the amount of Jewish contribution to the Church was again stipulated.

The Council of Ofen (1279) was convened for the purpose of defining the position of Jews, and other nonconforming bodies resident in Hungary and South Poland, these countries being represented by their principal Church functionaries. Laws showing a marked parity with those of the Viennese Council were drafted; it being decided to preclude Jews and other non-Christians from government employ and all responsible posts. A severe reprimand was administered to those Bishops, who entrusted the adjustment of their finances to dissidents from Romanism, it being ordained that such recreants from the faith were to be suspended from the exercises of their priestly prerogatives. A solemn anathema was moreover pronounced against those laymen, who refused to instantly discharge the Jews in their service or to quit the employ of all Jewish masters in whose employ they had been hitherto engaged. The badge for the Hungarian Jews was altered into a red wheel, something similar to the rouelle which St. Louis had introduced into France for the deeper degradation of the Jews in that country; it was to be worn upon the left breast of the outer garment, and to be seen without it constituted an offence which was ordered to be summarily and effectually dealt with. Whatever we think of this Council we cannot but prefer its ingenuousness to the duplicity of

that presided over by Innocent III, which aggravated its criminality by professing a solicitous fear that Christians might, in its absence, assault them and plead ignorance of their faith in extenuation of their lawlessness.

In England shortly before the expulsion of 1290, the Parliament again discussed the Jewish questions, and *inter alia* came to the following decisions :—(1) "That the law compelling Jews to reside in no other than royal boroughs and cities be more strictly enforced." This was a cruel ordinance since the Jews resident in towns under baronial jurisdiction were both numerous and long established. (2) "That they be forbidden to follow the business of money lending." This was indirectly effected by reducing the rates of interest to sums barely covering the expenses of the necessary legal papers. (3) "That the Jews were to pay a further tax of threepence annually for every Jewish person above twelve years of age ;" this fell due in Holy Week. It is noteworthy that the legislative body took no part in the ultimate cruel expulsion of the English Jews.

In 1321 the Paris Parliament laid a fine of 150,000 livres upon the Jews of France for committing a crime of which the King, and many of those who had supported the infliction of the mulct, had openly declared them absolutely innocent ; the poisoning of wells and the acceleration of the Plague of Florence. The most representative Jews were imprisoned ; their goods and the debts due to them sequestered, pending the payment of this collosal sum which a Jewish conference had to procure by apportioning the amount amongst the different provinces inhabited by members of the Hebrew race.

In 1329 the Spanish "Cortes" accepted a series of laws affecting the Jews, which were thoroughly pervaded with the spirit of religious intolerance and social antipathy. These were so impracticable and suicidal to the State, apart from all their injustice, that Alfonso XI declared himself unable and unwilling to ratify provisions that would unquestionably tend to impoverish his court and kingdom. It was sought to deprive the many sagacious Jewish statesmen and scholars of Alfonso's court—upon whose wisdom he placed the burdens of state—of their high offices. "They were indispensable," he said, "to the welfare of the throne ;" he therefore disregarded the allocution of Innocent III against Jewish statesmen.

The Cortes of Madrid had been rebuffed, but it did not lose courage; its perseverance is evidenced by a strongly worded address to the Crown, at a later period emphatically asking, in the name of the nobility of Spain, the adoption of a code approved by its members, which in deploring the fact that the evil and conceited people "the

enemies of God and of Christendom" are allowed to become Crown officials, to be admitted to Court, to farm and collect the State revenues, decided that they ought not to hold government posts. They were not to appear abroad attired in costly silks and rich brocades, riding gorgeously caparisoned steeds, as was their wont,[1] nor to reside outside of a ghetto into which they where to be cooped. They were furthermore to renounce their Spanish and family surnames and to wear a Jew badge as prescribed by the various Church councils. Don Henry, who exceedingly regretted the intense jealousy so eagerly shown by the nobles and court dignitaries, had not sufficient influence to do otherwise than concede some of the popular demands so loudly and imperatively urged upon him. He selected from their proposals those he considered the most venial, and decreed that Jews were to discontinue the use of Spanish patronymics and assume the "Badge." At a later period he was constrained to allow Christian debtors to cancel one third of the sums due to their Jewish creditors, together with the interest due on the total amount; the remainder, however, was to be returned to the luckless lenders before an appointed time.

In 1385 the Cortes of Valladolid evidently anxious to thoroughly and systematically oppress the Jews under its jurisdiction, asked that the "Lateran" laws should be received into the legislature. "Most painful is it," they said, "that good Christian nurses do attend Jewish children." These, it was begged, should, for a repetition of that offence be publicly whipped, a course that would prove an effectual deterrent. Jews were not to live with Christians. Don Juan, a man thoroughly and helplessly saturated with the spirit of Jewish hatred, acceded to their requests.

In 1388 the "Council of Palencia" enacted that "Christians must not dwell within the quarters assigned to Jews and Moors, and those already residing in them are to move therefrom within two months after the publication of this decree in the Cathedral, and if they do not they shall be compelled by ecclesiastical censure."

In 1434, (September 7,) the "Council of Basle," which had assembled, among other things, to reform the manifest abuses of the Church, and the shameless vice and profligacy of its representatives, decided to more strictly administer the canonical restrictions upon the Jews. Not content with penning the Jews into certain unhealthy streets, compelling them to wear a disfiguring mark, refusing them intercourse with members of other faiths, denying them admission to the various learned professions, for which their talents so well fitted them, and

(1.) For an account of the different sumptuary laws against the Jews see Mr. F. D. Mocatto's "The Jews of Spain and Portugal and the Inquisition."

rendering their tenure of public posts illegal, it ordered that Jews, whatever their proficiency or attainments, should not under any circumstances be admitted to academic or collegiate distinctions, that they should be compelled, at certain appointed times, to attend sermons in the various churches which aimed at their conversion by representing to them the punishments they were doomed to undergo both here and hereafter. Truly extraordinary! The crimes, robberies, adulteries, and incests of the clergy of this time were so terrible, that they had to be admonished by the legates of the Pope with closed doors, yet they, so immeasurably superior to the Jews, were deeply concerned in the after punishment of the latter for their heresy, that is, hourly worship of the one omnific God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob.

In 1514 the Synod of Paris University, condemned as heretical and infidel—favouring the works of a distinguished German writer Reuchlin, who had defended the Talmud and the Jews, because he could not understand why the German monks should drag copies of that work from the shelves of their owners and make public bonfires of them. Leo X, Pope and crypto-atheist, who had before the completion of his seventeenth year enjoyed the revenue of six rectories, fifteen abbacies, one priory and one Archbishopric,[1] ultimately declared the Talmud a work fit for dissemination.

In 1550 a Council of Genoese Physicians, envious of the success and popularity of the Jewish practitioners of that city coalesced with the Dominican monks of Genoa and unitedly pandered to the bigotry of the people so adroitly, that they constrained the Doge Doria, much against his will, to expel them from that city and proclaim by trumpeters in all the public squares, that Jews were no more permitted to reside there, nor was any petition for their future settlement permissible. The Jews of Naples had been expelled forty six years earlier.

Many of the Councils following this period, and a relation of their various ordinances, belong rather to the histories of the different nations in which they legislated, and are in the majority of instances germane parts of their records, and not often themes that would lead us to continue this chapter. They are often of purely local interest and wielded no influence over other Jews, nor did they very much affect the legislation of their Christian masters, with perhaps the exception of the smaller German States, who rapidly adopted the oppressive codes of those who formulated any species of new or more abject cruelty. In following the Prussian example at a later period of lessening their burdens, they were distinctly less enthusiastic.

(1.) See Legge, "Temporal Power of the Papacy," *ad locum*.

CHAPTER IX.

THE JEWS IN SPAIN.

"In its internal government, Spain was, during all this time, the most despotic, and intolerant country in Europe. No where were Jews and heretics of all kinds more cruelly persecuted."—"*A General Sketch of European History*," *E. A. Freeman, D.C.L., L.L.D., p.* 255.

THE Jews have resided in Spain from the very earliest times, their existence, organization, and customs, being referred to in many State Archives. Historians refer to the Spanish Jews at periods anterior to the advent of the Christian religion. Jews are supposed to have founded Seville, Toledo and other important Spanish cities. "From the time of the Emperor Hadrian who had transported 50,000 Jewish families into Spain the race had wonderfully increased."[1] They were remarkable for their dexterity and skill in all commercial enterprises and their loyalty to their monarch was as notable as the unswerving steadfastness with which they clung to their faith. Though their principal establishments were at Seville, Toledo, Granada and other great cities, they ramified throughout the Pyrennean peninsula, everywhere building synagogues which were models of architecture. As in France prior to the introduction of Christianity, no sentiment other than that of amity influenced the relation of Jews and Spaniards. For the former it was a second home, and, though assisting to build up the country by their sedulous and unflagging industries and their incontestable talents, they were glad that they, then chased from their own garden home, had found a haven. They were indeed loyal subjects and on many occasions, in time of war fought gallantly side by side with their Spanish brethren displaying conspicuous bravery and joyfully shedding their blood for Spain. To the Spaniard the Jew was a homeless but wronged wanderer, devoted to any country that granted him rest and a human being with his virtues, with his faults; therefore he—free from all the baneful trammels of religious intolerance—extended to him the hand of fellowship and right gratefully did the Jew return the grasp. "In the days of their prosperity they main-

(1.) Draper, "The Intellectual Development of Europe," Vol. ii, page 28.

tained a merchant marine of more than a thousand ships ; they had factories and consuls on the Tanais. With Constantinople alone they maintained a great trade. This trade ramified from the Black Sea and Eastern Mediterranean into the interior of Asia, it reached parts of India and China, and extended along the African coast as far as Madagascar ; even in these commercial affairs the singular genius of the Jews shines forth."[1] Under the earlier heathen and later Arian rule, the Iberian Jews enjoyed every imaginable privilege and freedom, they partook of the culture of the land, and rendered their vast learning in Theology, Philosophy, Metaphysics, Medicine, Astronomy and History accessible to many ancient scholars, who were not ashamed to recognise the well from which they had so deeply quaffed ; in fine the position of the Jews in Spain prior to the inception of Christianity in that country,—that is before that most Catholic and Visigothic madman Reccared ascended the throne—was one of great prosperity, analagous to that of the Jews in France under Louis le Debonnaire and his high-minded consort Queen Judith. A great historian speaking of the Jews of this period says " It was in Spain that the golden age of the Jews shone with the brightest and most enduring splendour. We are certain that the Jews under the enjoyment of equal rights and privileges rivalled their masters or rather their compatriots in the advancement of wealth, splendour and cultivation ; though they had their full share, or perhaps as more intelligent, a disproportionate share, in their highest and most confidential offices ; they had perpetual intercourse with their brethren in the East, we may safely infer that by land along the North of Africa, and by sea along the course of the Mediterranean, their commerce was pursued with industry and success. They had risen but to be trampled down by the fierce and unrelenting tread of oppression and persecution. The world, seemed to have entered into a tacit agreement to allow them time to gain wealth, in order that it might plunder them when that wealth was acquired." A few excerpts from historical writings have been given bearing upon their status and abilities showing that it was reserved for the adherents of a religion which teaches love and peace to abolish liberty of thought.

" Under the Visigothic empire the Jews multiplied exceedingly in the country, and were permitted to acquire considerable power and wealth, but no sooner had their Arian masters embraced the orthodox faith, then they began to testify their zeal by pouring on the Jews the most pitiless storm of persecution. One of their laws alone condemned

---

(1.) Draper.

the whole race to slavery, and Montesquieu remarks without much exaggeration that to the Visigothic code may be traced all the maxims of the modern Inquisition, the monk of the fifteenth century only copying, in reference to the Israelites, the bishop of the seventh."[1]

Under the rule of the Mohammedan Caliphs of Spain their position was equally as high as it had been under the Arian Kings ; their culture was unquestionable. It has been truthfully said that whilst Europe was sunk in darkness and barbarity, it was Jewish and Mohammedan scholars, who were accelerating science and learning in the Universities of Spain. "Their common Oriental origin produced a similarity of tastes to a certain extent not unfavourable to such a coalition. At any rate the early Spanish Arabs were characterized by a spirit of toleration towards both Jews and Christians, "The peoples of the Book," as they were called, which has scarcely been found among later Moslems. The Jews accordingly under these favourable auspices not only accumulated wealth with their usual diligence, but gradually rose to the highest civil dignities and made great advances in various departments of letters. Their schools in Cordova, Granada, Toledo and Barcelona were crowded with numerous disciples, who emulated the Arabians in keeping alive the flame of learning during the deep darkness of the Middle Ages."[2]

A short and general outline of some of the principal events in the history of the persecution of the Jews in Spain beginning with the massacre of Granada, 30th December, 1066 will now be given.

The primal cause of this horrible affair was the burning jealousy with which the inhabitants of Granada regarded the influence of Don Joseph Ibn Nagrela, who had in succession to his father been appointed Vizier to King Badis. He was one of the noblest and most devoted servant that a Spanish monarch had ever possessed, but his enemies at Court bruited it about that he had a treasonable understanding with an Almerian prince, who was expected daily to invade the country. Perhaps the mob which swarmed around the palace of Don Joseph were not to blame, for fanned by the nobles, who sought his death, they readily believed whatever was told them.

Joseph was captured and although he had been so esteemed by his co-religionists, as to have been appointed Nagid of the Community, at the age of twenty-four, ten years previously, he was crucified upon the gates of the city in punishment of a crime in proof of which no evidence had been proffered. An indiscriminate slaughter of the Jews

(1.) W. H. Prescott, Vol. i. page 191.
(2.) Ibid.

in the city was then indulged in, and rather more than fifteen hundred families were ruthlessly butchered. The blood of those who daily proclaimed the existence of the One God, deluged the streets like a river which had overflown its banks. Men were heartlessly and with revolting barbarity ripped open and dissembowelled to see if they had swallowed precious stones or coins. Numbers of the women were outraged and their babes wrested from their arms and either flung from high windows or their brains dashed out against the stone walls. The towns and villages near Granada caught the miasma of slaughter, for in several of them cruel massacres were the popular order of the day. The after throes of this onslaught were very severe; the merchant princes who had in one day become paupers through plunder; the learned professors, scientists and savants, whose houses had been burnt down; the artisans and mechanics, whose tools had been spitefully destroyed; all wandered about without bread or shelter.

In 1108 a horrible butchery of Jews in Toledo occurred. Archbishop Bernard's taking the cross seems to have been a tocsin for the numbers who were flocking to the armies of the Crusades. So fierce was the attack that the Rabbins were slain in the synagogues whilst at prayer.

In 1135 the King of Navarre presented the Jews of Estella to the citizens of that place, in grateful recognition of services rendered. It was a very usual mark of high favour for Christian sovereign to present a noble, or city, with Jews, and allow them to squeeze what they would out of them.

At this time when Germany was drenched with the blood of the thousands of murdered Jews, who fell under the swords of the Crusaders, Spain depended for almost her very existence as a factor in the Council of Europe upon the talent, learning, and enterprise of her Hebrew subjects. They had reached one of the highest points in their history, and their culture and refinement was certainly the greatest in Europe. Jews filled the highest State offices, their poets, philosophers, logicians, writers, scholars, and physicians were admitted the greatest in the country. The popularity of one Hebra-Spanish folklorist and musician, Abraham Ibn Sahal, was so great that a petition asking that the Spanish people be restrained by law from singing his songs was presented. Their general position left nothing to be desired until the year 1148, when the wild Almohades (a sect of Mohammedan fanatics) invaded Spain like a devastating epidemic and town after town succumbed to their superior numbers. Throughout the Province of Andalusia, then thickly populated with Jews, the synagogues were everywhere demolished. Buildings that had stood from time immemorial did not survive the wholesale demolition of

synagogues conducted with such savage and unpitying zeal. The Rabbinical and secular Jewish academies were all closed and their libraries burnt. The Jews (that is those whose efforts to flee the country of their birth were intercepted) were compelled to profess the adoption of Mohammedanism or die. Many Jews and Jewesses were sold for slaves and transported to the Mohammedan provinces of Africa. Under Alfonso VIII the Jews had again advanced to a position of great honour. The Court was filled with Jewish ministers, diplomatists and scholars, the State offices were filled by many persons of that denomination, the armies were oft marshalled by Jews, the universities were resplendent with their attainments, and envoys to the different European Courts were frequently orthodox Jews, who abandoned not one jot of Talmudical Judaism[1]: the Jews in Spain were on the whole most enthusiastically attached to their creed nor has the flame of their patriotism been ever extinguished, even in the breasts of the Spanish and Portuguese Jews at present in England.

When (in the reign, and through the mediation, of our Henry II) peace was concluded between the two Kingdoms of Castile and Aragon, the monarch of the former was presented with the revenues derived from the Jews of Estella and Eavines.

In 1189 Toledo, perhaps the first town in Spanish Jewry, was the scene of a riot which terminated in the cruel murder of several Jews, and the wrecking of a number of houses in the Jewish quarter. It was the direct outcome of a bigoted harangue delivered in the market square by a most violent fanatic.

During the fierce and stubborn resistance, which the Castilian and Aragonese monarchs offered to the everywhere victorious Almohades, the Jews of these Kingdoms, as well as those of Leon, suffered most severely ; in 1195 numbers of Hebrew soldiers willingly fought for the fatherland they so loved and shed their life's blood in the Spanish ranks, in common with their Christian brethren. Immediately after the irruption of the fanatical Almohades, thousands had abjured, or rather professed to abjure, their creed ; thus many of the Spanish Hebrews were nominal Mohammedans frequenting the mosques, but privately conforming to the Jewish ritual. Strange indeed ! In Spain

(1.) The Jews still held the highest and most honourable position, they were long defended by the wise policy of the Kings both in Castile and Aragon from the implacable animosity of the Clergy. They were the most enlightened class in the kingdom ; they were cultivators and possessors of the soil ; they where still not seldom ministers of finance, their fame as physicians was generally acknowledged, and deservedly so, for they had in their own tongues, or in Arabic, the best books of the ancient writers of medicine, and by their intercourse with the East no doubt obtained many valuable drugs unknown in the West. " Milman," Vol. iii, page 353.

they were being persecuted and told that all their sufferings were solely due to their stiffnecked refusal of Mohammed. In Germany and France, they were at the same time being persecuted and told that all their sufferings were solely due to their stiffnecked refusal of Christ. It was to the nominal Mohammedans, who were truly despondent, that Moses Maimonides, outwardly a devout Mohammedan, addressed his celebrated letter of consolation, which was also intended for the secret Jews of Africa.

Alfonso the Wise during the earlier part of his reign showed a rare liberality of mind to those who differed with him in religion, but at a later period he exerted every nerve to reduce the Jews to the lowest rung of the social ladder. No doubt finding it politic to curry favour with the Clergy, he formulated a rancorous code of laws which sought the bitterest degradation of the Jews. The code contains several conclusions arrived at by some extraordinary and inexplicable process of reasoning, for instance, "the Jews are allowed to live, so that they may remind good Christians that the vengeance of Heaven is ever directed against "that race of crucifiers." In a most erudite peroration to his learned and recondite disquisition, the narrow-headed King admits that "At one time they were beloved by God but owing to their frightful criminality in refusing to receive Christ they were scattered all over the world." No doubt considering it his inalienable duty to personally punish their culpable misbelief in not accepting the divinity of Christ, he almost laid down the amount of air a Jew might inhale. One of his most savage enactments was that any Christian who embraced Judaism was to be put to death. The process of execution in this Christian country, Prescott tells us, was to savagely plunge a long dagger into the throat of the victim and literally sever his head from the trunk by a violent method of wrenching it out. His monachal highness prohibited the Jews from employing Christians as labourers, servants, nurses, or in any sort of employment ; they were not, he ordained, to erect any new synagogues, nor hold communion with Christians. Any Jew or Jewess who failed to affix the prescribed mark of infamy to the hat or head-dress was to be punished, the former by receiving ten lashes with a scourge, the latter by paying a fine of a similar number of gold pieces. Jews were not to leave their quarters during Holy Week nor their houses on Good Friday. Jews and Christians were not to eat, drink, bathe, sleep, nor reside together, Jewish physicians were prohibited from attending Christian patients by a drastic law, which threatened them with a heavy punishment did they do so. Yet though Alfonso hated the Jews and Judaism with the bitterest intensity he was not so oblivious to the dictates of

humanity, as not to raise his voice and deprecate the cowardly violence, which was so natural an offshoot of the fiery and murderous bigotry fondly fostered by the clergy in the ductile minds of the populace. Their spiritual guides ever sought pretexts for the affliction of the Jews. Thus Alfonso prevented his subjects from illtreating the Jews to too great an extent, by interlarding his outrageous code with various protective measures, which conceded to the Jews the most natural and primitive rights. The code could only rouse the very fanaticism which a few of its paragraphs sought to suppress. Alfonso ordained that the Jews were not to be involuntarily dragged into churches and baptized, also that their synagogues were not to be desecrated, nor were processions of monks and priors to enter them on the Day of Atonement and other high festivals in order to place a crucifix in the Ark, and harangue the terrified Hebrews on the immaculacy of Christ. The Jews, however, were forbidden to hold any court or government post, yet Alfonso had no alternative but to surround himself and often—owing to the gross corruptness of his own officials—rely on the guidance of talented and faithful Hebrew ministers of State. He bitterly inveighed against the Jewish physicians and, in vituperative language, ordered his subjects not to entrust their bodies to them ; yet his own body physician was a Jew whom he rarely permitted out of his sight, indeed a singular anomaly ! a man forbidding his subjects to avail themselves of talents without which, and persons without whom, he himself could not exist.

The Cortes of Tarragona, held in 1233, gave some attention to the Jews, and forbade their free intercourse with Moors.

Thibaut I, King of Navarre, appears to have treated the Jews justly, for in 1234 Pope Gregory IX upbraided him and ordered him to compel them to dress differently from Christians. This action was something after the style of Innocent III, who had soundly rated Alonzo, the Castilian King, for some acts of kindness shown to Jews and Moors in his kingdom.

In 1262, a large number of Jews were slaughtered by a mob at Assuna, a town in Andalusia. Three Christians had thrown a dead body into a Jewish house and accused the inmates of the murder ; every Jew discovered was massacred. The Jews despatched legates to the King and it was ultimately established that a certain Juan de la Vera desiring to obviate the necessity of paying a debt to a Jew, exhumed a corpse with the aid of two friends. The grave was found newly opened.

In the same year the Infanta, Donna Constance, was married to the Navarrese Infante Don Pedro and received the Jews of Gerona as her marriage portion.

The Aragonese Jews were in a worse plight than those of Castile. King Jayme I, who had been brought into contact with, and imbibed many of the notions of, the royal Castilian monk, was so well inoculated with Alfonso's virus against the Jews that he declared them his private serfs. Yet he did no more than most of the European sovereigns who looked upon "their" Jews as a body who could only appeal or be legislated for *en masse* and who were the chattels and bondsmen of their respective sovereigns. Added to this Jayme's father confessor—of whose purifying offices he had paramount and constant need—was the frantic Raymund de Penjaforte, third General of the order of St. Dominic, and one of the darkest and most brooding fanatics known to history ; not only was he an ascetic, but a merciless heretic hunter.[1]

He was ever dinning into Jayme's royal ears the awful depravity of not so circumscribing the lives of the Jews and Mohammedans in his Kingdom as to leave them no resource but to receive Christianity. Raymund, (afterwards a Saint), was so exceedingly anxious for the conversion of the Jews that he established Hebrew academies for the monks, who were thus to be enabled to controvert the Jewish heresy from its own literature. St. Raymund compelled the most learned Jew in Aragon, Rabbi Moses Nachmanides, of Gerona, (Ramban) to appear before the King and hold an argument with a baptised Jew on the Talmud. The disputation lasted several days, Nachmanides from the first presenting the better case.

King Jayme, giving him a private audience, and, presenting him with three hundred maravedis, remarked that he had never heard so unjust a matter so skilfully defended. Rabbi Moses thus incurred the fierce hatred of the entire Dominican order by having circumvented the endeavours of their general. But Raymund issued an order to all the Jewish communities of Aragon commanding them to enter into argument with the amphoteric friar Pablo Christiani. The Jews had to pay for his tour, deliver their Hebrew books up to his attendant friars, and assemble in their synagogues to listen to his sermons. Finding all these efforts to eradicate Judaism futile, recourse was had to another plan. Nachmani was arraigned for controverting the teachings of the Church and banished, although he was over seventy at the time. Had Jayme not intervened, the Dominicans, who made determined struggles to be appointed his judges, would without a doubt have condemned him to the stake.

In Valladolid (1280) Alfonso, finding himself in want of money to pay a visit to the French King, had the entire Jewish community arrested and imprisoned. They were compelled to give him 2000 maravedis daily till his return to Spain.

(1.) See De Castro, "The Jews in Spain," *ad locum.*

In 1290 an assessment of the Jews was ordered, and they were taxed at three maravedis a head yearly.

At a Cortes of Valladolid, held in 1293, many false charges were made against the Jews, but Don Sancho practically ignored them.

"In 1299 Philip le Bel, as regent of Navarre, ordered that the ordinance of St. Louis, King of France, respecting the Jews should be observed in Navarre and that only the sum lent should be repaid."[1]

When a Castilian King entered a Town that possessed a Jewish community his body guards had to receive twelve maravedis (120 deniers) for each Scroll of the Law in the Synagogue.

"The people who through a bigoted veneration for the priesthood were led to believe the Jews as the authors of every public calamity, were always ready to wreak their vengeance by attacking the Jewries, plundering the houses, butchering the inmates and enriching themselves at the expense of the wealth and lives of the Hebrew people."[2]

During the reign of Alfonso XI Jews again occupied the highest and most honourable offices of the State and were not unfrequently Court dignitaries. They were prominent in every department of letters, culture and science,[3] and that at a time when Spain herself was signally deficient in genius and learning ; they enjoyed every privilege, but in some parts of Southern Spain, in Aragon, and in Navarre, their position was often insufferable, always unenviable. The acrid harangues of the clergy, the dicacity of the nobles, ever threw the mob into dangerous ferments. The Pope and his Cardinals were far away and the former could only take action after a massacre of Jews had taken place, by issuing an apostolic admonition. The unfairness of the laws in the two latter kingdoms anent the Jews is patent to the most superficial thinkers.

(1.) E. H. Lindo, "The Jews of Spain and Portugal, page 116.

(2.) Lindo.

(3.) They cannot reasonably be denied to have contributed largely to experimental and practical seience They were diligent travellers in all parts of the known world, compiling itineraries which have proved of extensive use in later times, and bringing home hordes of foreign specimens and foreign drugs that furnished important contributions to the domestic pharmacopeias. In the practice of medicine indeed they became so expert as in a manner to monopolise that profession. They made great proficiency in mathematics and particularly in astronomy, while in cultivation of elegant letters the revived the ancient glory of the Hebrew muse. This was indeed the golden age of modern Jewish literature which under the Spanish caliphs especially, experienced a protection so benign although occasionally ehequered by eaprices of despotism, that it was enabled to attain higher beauty and a more perfect development in the tenth, eleventh, twelfth and thirteenth centuries than it has reaehed in any other part of Christendom. Prescott's, "Life of Ferdinand and Isabella," Vol. i, page 192.

The years rolled on, the Jews owned and tilled the soil, were the agents of commerce and cultivators of the arts, in particular they were the physicians of the country.[1] "We find eminent Jews residing in the Courts of their Christian princes, directing their studies, attending them as physicians, or more frequently as their financiers. For this last vocation they seemed to have had a natural aptitude; and indeed the correspondence which they maintained with the different countries of Europe, by means of their own countrymen, who acted as the brokers of almost every people among whom they were scattered during the Middle Ages, afforded them peculiar facilities both in politics and commerce. We meet with Jewish Scholars and Statesmen attached to the courts of Affonso XI, Alfonso X, Peter the Cruel, Henry II and other princes. Their knowledge of astronomy recommended them in a special manner to Alfonso the Wise who employed them in the construction of his celebrated tables.[2]" They were the most industrious and therefore the most wealthy people in the Spanish Kingdom; this condition continued in spite of the enmity of the clergy, popular bigotry, and the adverse legislation of Cortes and Parliaments.[3]

In 1304 King Ferdinand addressed a letter to the Jews of his kingdom insisting on their annual and regular payment of thirty deniers, "which you have to give in memorial of the death of our Lord Jesus Christ when the Jews crucified him."

In 1313 the Council of Zamora decreed :—

1. "Henceforth no Jew shall hold a post or dignity from Kings or any secular prince, and shall resign those they now hold."
2. "They are not to be admitted into frequent association with Christians, lest from the intimacy they adopt the errors which they do not understand.
3. That Jews may not serve as witnesses against Christians nor claim the benefit of the Law.
4. That no Christian woman, either temporarily or otherwise, act as wet nurse to them or rear their children.
5. That Jews are not to appear in public from the Wednesday of Passion Week until Saturday, and on Good Friday are to close their doors and windows the whole day not to mock the sorrow of Christians for the Passion.
6. That they wear an ostensible sign that they may be distinguished and separate among Christians which is right and practised in other States.
7. Notwithstanding their learning and reputation they are not to practice medicine with Christians.

(1.) Prof. Hosmer, p. 153.
(2.) Prescott, Vol. i. p. 193.
(3.) Dr. Harris Rule, p. 92.

The five other paragraphs upon the Jews

1. Prevents Jews from inviting Christians to their meals, gatherings or feasts and Christians from eating or drinking with them.
2. Compels them to pay tithes on their lands.
3. Commands that synagogues enlarged beautified or erected, shall be restored to their former state.
4. Forbids their taking interest from Christians.
5. Forbids them to work publicly on Sundays for themselves or their employers.

The repetition of such laws by Council after Council shows how completely the Christian masters were admitting their inability to dispense with Jews in every sphere of professional, mercantile, and trade activity.

In 1315 the "Cortes of Burgos" decreed :—

Canon 4. Henceforward no Jew or Moor shall be called by Christian names; any that may be are to be tried as heretics.

5. Christians are not to live with Jews or rear their children; the judges of towns and places where it occurs are to make examples of those persons that do it, the same as on those who break their religion.

The Council of Salamanca convened in 1322 decreed :—

Canon 1. That infidels (Jews and Moors) are not permitted to be in churches during divine services, particularly while Mass is performed. At its commencement they are to be expelled or locked up by the sacristan in a private place until it is ended.

2. Christians who are present at the marriages or funerals of Jews or Moors are to be excommunicated.
3. Forbids the appointment of Jews or Moors to public posts.
4. Christians are not to employ Jews as physicians, surgeons or apothecaries nor to take their medicines.

When Alfonso XI shortly after this council ascended the throne, the Jews made complaint that the clergy encouraged the Christians to defraud them of their debts by excommunicating those alcaldes who enforced their payment to the Jewish creditors.

He censured the clergy and stigmatised their action as shameful. Cortes of Valladolid, (1325.)

On the 23rd of Adar (5th, March) 1328, a number of friars of the town of Estella, where an exceedingly large community of Jews existed, paraded the streets bearing aloft a huge crucifix and crying "Death or Baptism for the Jews, which shall it be?" Ascending the steps of a church the leader, Pedro Olligoyen, delivered a most fiery and fanatical oration, calling upon the Jews to either instantly accept Jesus or die, together with their wives and families. The terrified Jews precipitately fled to their quarter which they at once barricaded with furniture dragged from their houses, but the mob, reinforced from the surrounding villages, quickly demolished the ramparts so vainly defended, for the besiegers bringing forward high ladders scaled the walls and leapt over.

Then with the most unpitying savagery they murdered every Jew found. A few noble spirits determined to sell their lives very dearly and only after a bitter struggle, but what could the unshrinking courage of a handful of distraught men, unskilled in war, untutored in the art of battle, avail against the teeming multitudes of armed assailants, who amid scenes of the wildest excitement and disorder spent their awful fury in mutilating the bodies and hacking the corpses of the few valiant men who had resolved to die like heroes. The piles of corpses of the Jewish martyrs,[1] charred and stripped naked, filled the streets of Estella, whilst not one Jewish house remained.[2] Each one was quietly set ablaze as soon as its most valuable contents had been removed. Many a son lay beneath the corpse of his father; many a husband near that of his wife. Six thousand mute and shrouded witnesses arraign Christianity! What a ghastly picture! What an unanswerable indictment is each bleeding corpse! For a whole day and night the terrible scenes had been witnessed undisturbed; the inhabitants of Estella past into the Jewish quarter robbing, pillaging, slaying and burning everywhere, until the hideous piles of murdered Jews showed that there was none left to slaughter. The following day when order had been partially restored, it was found that not one Jewish dwelling had been spared and that not above twenty Jews, who had hidden themselves in cisterns, had escaped. This horrible and inhuman massacre was but the inception of a thorough Jew-hunt throughout Navarre, for the Christian clergy ever holding up the laudable zeal and noble enthusiasm of the Estellans, presented their monstrous deeds as models for emulative consideration. Similar deeds of terror and rapine were urged by these representatives of the Christian religion. Tudela, Falcas, Funes, Moncilla, Viana and many other towns swam with the blood of Hebrew martyrs, who willingly died for Judaism. Some Jews had their tongues cut out or slit in two, others were blinded, lamed, burnt and disembowelled, but everywhere they were found steadfast and unwavering in their faith. Fathers witnessed the blood of their children stream in the gutters, whilst sons had to see the agonised and last throes of their parents. What indeed can humane men say in palliation of a system which has ever urged those, who blindly relied on its guidance, to shed the blood of myriads of innocent men in the name of a God of mercy?

In 1335 a Council at Salamanca endeavoured to destroy the medical practice of the Jews among Christians, asserting:—"That

(1.) Estimated at 6000. Basnage, a very judicious and careful historian, gives the same number.

(2.) See Da Costa, "Israel and the Gentiles," *ad locum*.

under the pretext of surgery and medicine, they craftily insinuated themselves with the people to the injury of the faithful, it prohibited Christian women nursing the children of unbelievers. All correspondence in writing with them was interdicted to the faithful. The penalty for any of these acts was excommunication. The Jews in every town were to reside in a separate quarter to be called the Jewry. They were not to live in the vicinity of a church or cemetery. Christians who leased houses to them in such situations incurred excommunication."[1]

The jealousy that existed against the Jewish statesmen is well testified to by an incident which occurred in 1336. Alfonso the Castilian Monarch had given Gonzalo Martinez, Grand Master of the order of Alcantara and Minister of the royal palace—a man who had sworn to annihilate the Jews—plenary power to punish certain Hebrew Court favourites, whom he (Martinez) had charged with a number of fictive conspiracies against the King. Don Joseph of Ecija and Don Samuel Ibn Wakar were, together with their wives and families, imprisoned and tortured to gratify the hatred of Alfonso's Haman. Both these Jews succumbed to the fiendish tortures to which they had been subjected. When the Moors declared war against Castile, and the coffers of Alfonso had been exhausted by the prodigality of the Christian successors to those who had so judiciously and thriftily husbanded the royal resources, the fecundity and inventive genius of Gonzalo found a ready solution of the difficulty of recuperating the strained finances ; nothing less than to expel the entire body of Jews in Old Castile—men, who had been settled there before the Spaniards—and confiscate their wealth. He expatiated at great length upon the certainty of their Christian debtors making lavish gifts to the crown conditionally to their being absolved of their debts to the Jews. But his startling suggestions for the successful replenishing of the royal exchequer did not receive the assent of the King. The Archbishop of Toledo himself on behalf of the clergy strongly opposed the programme of the Court favourite, but solely on political grounds, saying that the Jews were, and had been at all times, an inexhaustible treasure to the Kings. Gonzalo's councils were luckily unheeded and he himself a few years later suffered capital punishment for sedition.

In 1344 Bishop Villanona of Palma fined the Jews of that town 150,000 deniers for harbouring two Germans, who had accepted Judaism of their own volition.

(1.) Lindo.

In 1347 the Cortes of Segovia compelled the Jews of that city to build houses for their residence in a certain district, and forbade them to reside outside of it.

In the years 1348-1349 the cry of the "Plague of Florence" cost 15,000 Jewish lives in Spain. Toledo appears to have been the scene of the greatest massacre.

"Peter IV of Aragon in 1349 held a "Cortes" at Barcelona, while there at the dedication of St. Maria de las Nieves. A large mob assembled and, notwithstanding the royal presence, attacked the Jews with great insolence and daring. It was not without difficulty that the riot was suppressed."[1]

During the progress of the Black Plague, Spain was ravaged from one boundary to another, but the Jews were rarely blamed, as they were in almost every European country; and in the few congregations of Catalonia, their sufferings were not nearly so acute as in those of Germany and France. Pedro the Cruel, sensible of the fidelity of his numerous train of Jewish dignitaries and courtiers, successfully shielded them from the machinations of the monks and the clergy who were ever seeking—through the mob over whose plastic and callow minds, they wielded so unlimited a sway—to bring about the recrudescence of the scenes at Granada, Viani, Moncilla and other towns, by constantly citing bloody assaults, savage massacres, and murderous exploits as praise-worthy ebullitions of Christian zeal and enthusiasm. When, in 1350, the Cortes of Valladolid petitioned Don Pedro to place certain restrictions upon the defined and oft ratified liberties which the Jews enjoyed, he refused their consistent request. His Queen Blanche de Bourbon entertained the most bitter hatred of them and continually and openly expressed her ineradicable hostility to them. Fortunately the influence she possessed was not great enough to suborn the royal ear and her proposition, ceaselessly dinned into his head, to expel the Jews from Castile, was unheeded. The great influence of Samuel Allavi and others of the large number of Jewish courtiers and officers with whom Pedro had surrounded himself rendered all the cajolery and blandishments of Blanche's party abortive. When however Pedro's power had through various acts of maladministration sensibly decreased, the Pope placed him under a ban, stigmatised him "a favourer of Jews and heretics" and decreed his deposition. His fierce brother, Henry of Trastamara,—the French King having aided him to organise an army—then placed himself at the head of that vast multitude of banditti, outlaws, escaped criminals,

(1.) Lindo.

pillagers and adventurers, known to history as the "White Troop" and invaded the territories of Pedro, proclaiming a holy war for the extermination of the Jews and assuming as a token of his mission the symbol of a white cross. "Pedro is worse than a Jew," said they. The Hebrews showed the most signal and exemplary loyalty, levying troops, garrisoning cities, throwing up ramparts and fortifications around the more accessible towns, and fighting, with what even Blanche's party, their bitterest calumniators, admitted to be leonine bravery. It is certainly true that the Jewish Castilian regiments were amongst the first who repelled the savage attacks of Henry's general, Bertrand de Guesclin and his wild mercenaries.[1] Henry charged the protection of the Jews as a capital crime against his brother, but the Jews sensible of the favours, or at least just treatment meted out to them, rallied round his flag, provisioned and accoutred his army, and crowded his forces. When, after a sanguinary battle, Pedro's troops were compelled to evacuate the city of Burgos, Henry proclaiming himself King, determined to revenge the assistance the Jews had given his opponent by fining them 50,000 doubloons. Christian debtors were delighted to learn that debts to Jewish creditors were declared null. The Jews of Burgos impoverished, first by their sustained and expensive defence of the town, and then by the loss of their outstanding debts, had to sell the ornaments of their Scrolls of the Law : even then, the amount not having been raised, many were seized, sold into servitude, and shipped off to Barbary, and other parts of Africa. In Toledo, the Jews of the city defended with the most conspicuous gallantry the positions which they were appointed to protect, but Pedro's army was daily dwindling into a mere insignificant and disorganised band, owing to the numerous desertions of his terrified soldiers, and it finally fell into Henry's hands. The Jewish community here were punished for their loyalty in the same manner as had been that of Burgos. After the ultimate fall of Seville, Don Pedro was compelled to make a clandestine departure from the country.

In 1360 a frightful massacre of the Jews in Miranda del Ebro was brought to the notice of the King of Castile. Don Pedro the Cruel, sensible of what they had done for him, punished the perpetrators with sickening cruelty, roasting one in an oven, boiling another in a cauldron, and executing eight with the axe.

In 1367, Pedro presiding over the Cortes of Burgos, rejected several petitions which were inimical to the Jews, Pedro no doubt remembered

(1.) See Dr. H. C. Adams, "History of the Jews," *ad locum.*

that in one of his battles against his fratricidal brother one third of his whole army were Jews. The Jews in Spain at that time numbered about a million.

In 1367 he again stood on Spanish soil, and determined to assert his claims. Having gathered together his adherents, he discovered that the Castilian Jews had remained true to their lawful monarch. This so enraged the White Troop and Henry's other auxiliaries, that they committed many savage excesses upon the different Jewish colonies in the towns occupied by their party. At Valladolid the soldiery entering the synagogues (eight in number and all most stately edifices) destroyed the Scrolls of the Law by tearing them to shreds, throwing them down in a heap, and making a large bonfire of them. The Hebrew congregation at Villa Diego was absolutely wiped out by the English auxiliaries under the Black Prince, a man looked upon as a most noble and immaculate redresser of wrongs and represser of abuses. Pedro's own allies reimbursed themselves for the outlay occasioned by the expedition by attacking and pillaging the Jewish quarters in every town they entered ; one—a Mohammedan prince—took three hundred Jewish families into captivity. In Toledo at this period their condition was so dreadful that over 10,000 perished from sheer starvation, some ravenously gnawing the parchments in the Synagogues, others the flesh of their own children. Henry eventually vanquishing his brother and executing him, contemptuously calling him "The Jew," succeeded in dislodging his brother's party, or at least its influence, in Spain. Addressing his ministers and supporters, the usurper expressed himself as struck by the unswerving constancy and loyalty they had displayed throughout the trying times. "Such subjects," he said "a King must love and reward because they maintained to their death a proper loyalty." Don Henry however averse he might be to conceding the clamorous demands of the clergy anent his Hebrew subjects, had to mollify them by ordering occasional debates between Jewish and Christian theologists. At the outset the representatives of the former were generally severely admonished, and commanded to say nothing derogatory to Christian sentiment, that is, logically examine the doctrines of the New Testament or patristic literature. Notwithstanding this, they were very often victorious in these debates ; the different Hebrew communities were being constantly requested to produce a champion, who should single-handed and without any preparation, David-like face a number of learned Bishops—casuistical Goliaths—who for months previously had arranged their questions. The Jewish Biblical slingers found their "six smooth pebbles" in the doctrines of Trinitarianism, Intercession of Saints,

Vicarious Atonement, Papal Infallibility, Original Sin, and in the crimes of the Church and its representatives.

Don Juan I, readily fell before the adroit machinations of the anti-Semitic party, which his father (Henry) had manfully withstood, and granted many petitions from legislative and judicial bodies tampering with the liberties granted them by charter.[1]

At the Cortes of Toro held in 1371 petitions were presented, one of them asking that the "enemies of the faith" who alas dwelt in the country might be humiliated and degraded, compelled to quit all honourable posts, wear Jew badges, etc. The petition was refused.

In 1375 a number of Jews were murdered by Mohammedans in Granada, through jealousy of Isaac Amoni the King's physician and his great influence[2]

In 1380 King Juan I of Castile, declared at the "Cortes of Soria" that Rabbis, Elders and Chiefs, were to have no jurisdiction in civil and criminal cases arising between Jews, under a penalty of six thousand Maravedis. When he was petitioned to forbid Christians to nurse Jewish and Mohammedan children he ordered :—

> "That any Christian nursing the child of a Jew or Moor should be fined six thousand maravedis to the Exchequer; but they may live with them; they may have people to cultivate their land and to accompany them from one place to another; otherwise they might be illtreated or murdered."

In 1384 John ordered :—

1. That Jews and Moors shall not be permitted publicly to work or sell anything, or cultivate their lands on Sundays and Christian holidays, but in their houses they may, provided it is done without noise and not exposed to view.
2. That Jews and Moors are not to live or associate with Christians.

The Cortes of Saragossa held in 1385 devotes fourteen paragraphs to the Jewish question.

The Cortes of Briviesca held in 1387 devotes two.

In 1391 a bigoted and cruel hater of Jews and heretics, Ferdinand Martinez, Archdeacon of Seville, harangued a mob on the crimes and misbelief of the Jews, reprobating their hardened infidelity in the public square. It had been his practice to constantly stir up the fanaticism of the mob against them, but now (March 15th) he publicly

---

(1.) In some towns and districts "Jews were forbidden to act as physicians, bakers, millers ; they were prohibited from selling bread, wine, oil. flour in the markets. No Jew might be a smith. carpenter, tailor, shoemaker, currier or clothier for Christians. He might not sell them shoes, doublets or any other article of clothing. He might not be carrier or employ or be employed by Christians in any profession or trade whatsoever." Israel Abrahams, M.A., page 241.

(2.) See Da Costa, "Israel and the Gentiles."

goaded them to massacre the "heretics," assuring them that it was the very essence of religion, and the crucial test of their faith to assassinate Jews and pillage their houses.[1] "Force them," he cried "to abjure their dreadful errors or slay them." Martinez threw the ignorant and credulous Jew-hating populace of Seville into such a dangerous and uncontrollable paroxysm of fanatical anger, that the Governor of the city, Don Juan Alfonso, who at first attempted to restrain them, was compelled to hastily conceal himself or he would have been murdered; all law, all order, was at an end. The entire mass of people armed with knives, daggers, axes, maces, poniards, flails, and every species of warlike instrument, precipitated themselves upon the Jewish quarter, hacking and hewing right and left without mercy or discrimination. The tottering step of infirmity and the crying lisp of childhood could not protect the aged or the infant from the wholesale butchery ordered by this cut-throat and murderous Christian Archdeacon. The synagogues and Houses of learning were burned to the ground, the Scrolls of the Law, synagogal parchments and sacred books, received similar treatment. Not a street that was not piled with bleeding corpses, not a house that was not looted, not a chamber that did not witness some sickening tragedy, either brutal mutilation, or more merciful murder. Four thousand Jews of all ages and sexes were put to death. "Amid the yells of the savage mob and the groans of the dying was heard the voice of the Archdeacon encouraging them in these horrible scenes of carnage and extermination."[2] The entire Jewish quarter was enveloped in one immense flame; the King, Henry III, was a boy of eleven years old and his Council of Regency was not powerful or determined enough to do anything but deprecate such high handed and pitiless deeds of massacre and plunder. Martinez continued to denounce Jews and exhort his auditors to murder them and annex their effects, for there was no curb that could restrain his poisonous and death-heralding allocutions against the Jewish heresy, and within three months from the awful slaughter, Ferdinand Martinez, teacher of religion and servant of Jesus, ordered a second and more effective invasion of the Juderia (The Jewish quarter). On June 16th, the populace of Seville, armed to the teeth, were marshalled by their bloody inciter, who giving the word of command, led them into the streets inhabited by Jews and then set about the regular and systematic slaughter of that proscribed people. Aged men at the point of death were bound to

(1.) See Mr. F. D. Mocatto, "The Jews of Spain and Portugal and the Inquisition."

(2.) Lindo.

beds and their houses set on fire. Wives and children were beheaded, strangled, burnt or scalded in the presence of their husbands and parents. Infants were flayed alive in their cradles; Jewish blood gushed into every part of the city. Those who were not butchered were sold as slaves into Morocco and Granada. Many to save their wretched lives feigned abjuration of their religion, overt adherence to which meant instant butchery. Of the thirty thousand souls professing the Hebrew creed in Seville barely one hundred remained. Even then, the lust for the blood of the Jews had not been satiated; the appetite of the provinces had rather been whetted, for at Lograno, Hueti, Burgos, Ocana, Ecija, Carrion and over sixty other populous towns, the frenzied mobs, often led by bishops or lower orders of the clergy, heartlessly massacred the Jews, plundered their houses and set their quarters in flames; destroyed their synagogues or converted them into churches. At Ascalona so ferocious were the mob, who fairly howled aloud for Jews to murder, and so painstaking and thorough a search was instituted, that absolutely not one single Jew or Jewess, man, woman or child remained alive or escaped slaughter. Cordova, one of the largest Hebrew communities in the entire Spanish peninsula, and one that had done much to elevate learning and culture, enjoyed no immunity from the terrible onslaughts made upon the Jews in every part of the Kingdom, for the mob taking arms murdered multitudes with the most wanton atrocity; every species of cold blooded and inhuman barbarity being practised; a huge number were in several synagogues surrounded with knives presented at their bared breasts, commanded to embrace Christianity, so sadly was that creed in need of proselytes.

On the massacres of 1391 instigated by Archdeacon Ferran Martinez, Dr. Lozano, an authority cited by Lindo, says, "The people went so riotously and resolutely to each of these places, so eager for plunder, so prepossessed by the voice of the Archdeacon, that they might conscientiously rob and kill that people without respect to the laws, or fear of judges or ministers, plundering, robbing, and murdering that the narrative is horrifying. Every city was a Troy. The shrieks, lamentations and groans of those who saw themselves ruined and destroyed without a crime, elicited the pity of those not concerned in the deed; consequently the cruelty and rage increased. Finally, notwithstanding the judges proceeded to institute inquiries and punish, it was useless; for it seemed highly improper to chastise or destroy a city or whole town to restore and save a Jewry, and the more so where the riot was caused under the pretext of religion, and maintained by the Archdeacon as being rightly done.

On the 17th Tammuz (June 20th) the populace of Toledo, a city containing the largest, wealthiest, most cultured and patriotic body of Jews in Spain, and one of the first corporate Hebrew bodies in Europe, took weapons and fell upon them slaying, torturing, and burning without pity or cessation. It was one of the most dreadful massacres of Jews in the history of Europe ; men's throats were slit from ear to ear, their noses were sliced from their faces, their tongues were cut out or slit. Some were so cruelly crushed beneath tremendous weights that their brains bespatted their murderers, others' ribs could plainly be seen. Yet they refused to desert their creed ; they met death and torture with the fortitude of heroes. This was the third massacre of Jews in Toledo. So much for Castile!

In the kingdom of Aragon the gentle but powerless King, Juan I, was quite unable to repress the many fierce and bloody risings against the Jews in his kingdom, however much he might deplore them. It is a curious feature in the history of the Spanish Jews, that at the very times when they were being slaughtered in myriads their learned men were in high favour at Court and wielded vast influence which was often used for the amelioration of their unfortunate brethren. The province of Valencia (like that of Aquitaine in France) pioneered the slaughter of the unhappy Israelites. The city of Valencia in which lived considerably more than five thousand Jews, so ruthlessly fell upon and so cruelly and fiercely hacked them to pieces or forced them to receive the Sacraments and accept Christian belief, that, as in Ascalona, not one person following the Jewish religion remained to testify that for ages Jews had lived and died martyrs to their religion. From one boundary of Aragon to another, every town, every village resounded with the death cries and the agonised groans of the defenceless seed of Abraham, who had not felt such a bloody onslaught since the days of the Crusades. In the larger towns streets were thick with the bodies of martyred Jews, who, disfigured and stripped stark naked, lay for days unburied decaying in the sun, whilst in the forests to which huge loads of Jewish corpses were conveyed by death carts in lieu of burial, the wolves, hyænas, and jackals made their gruesome repast and held their midnight revels. Of the numerous and populous Aragonese Jewish colonies, one alone escaped attack, Murviedro, where doubtless the Jewish inhabitants were either indispensable or the Christians not impregnated with conversionist zeal. Meanwhile abroad similar frightful scenes were everywhere enacted. In Palma the principal town of the Island of Majorca, for instance, an organised troop of roughs and sailors improvised a rude crucifix from a cudgel (August 2nd, Ellul,) and invading the Jewish section of the town with cries of

"Death to the Jews, the murderers of God," sated their fiery fanaticism by massacring over three hundred of the unhappy race. On the 5th August, (Ellul 4,) a violent outbreak against the Jews of Barcelona assumed so dangerous a proportion that the Governor had to secrete as many as possible in the citadel of the town. Temporarily baulked, an indignant rabble quickly surrounded the nearest synagogue, it being the Sabbath. The assembled Jews, nearly 200 in number, were executed in the vicinity of the edifice. After this excellent exploit they reinforced their numbers, whom they equipped with crossbows and other weapons; they then commenced to besiege the citadel with all the circumstance of war. The Jews fought manfully, but their cowardly foes finding all efforts to reduce the citadel vain, resorted to a most disgraceful and ignoble act. The entire building was fired and the exits guarded to prevent the too early egress of the imprisoned Israelites. The entrapped victims, sorrowfully realising that deliverance was as impossible as the appearance of humanity in their besiegers, calmly resigned themselves to their fate. By far the larger number met death at each other's hands, the younger from the elder and the most honourable at the hands of the Rabbi, who (like Rabbi Yom Tob of York) was the last to die. Many voluntarily flung themselves over the battlements, being instantly shattered to fragments. A few went forth determined not to die without a struggle, but the vast hordes of yelling and screaming ruffians, against whom they had been rash enough to pit themselves, soon hacked them to death. Many to save themselves when the very pike was at their breast feigned to accept Christianity and thousands were, against their own volition baptized. In Barcelona alone eleven thousand were converted but vast multitudes disdained the terms and met the fate of martyrs. Barcelona had thus not one Jewish survivor in what had been next to Toledo and Cordova, the largest Jewish colony of Spain. In Catalonia a few of the extremely wealthy Jews were fortunate enough, in return for vast sums, to obtain protection from the nobles, who hid them, their wives and children in their castles, but with the exception of this exceedingly small number, (about thirty families were thus shielded), and the large numbers who received Christianity, every Jew in that city was put to the sword. In Gerona very few saved their lives by perjury; inflamed by the heroic death of their Rabbi and Dayanim (Rabbinical Assessors) they were, almost to a man, martyrs. The Jews in Lerida shortly afterwards showed themselves to be equally noble; here also only a mere and insignificant handful deserted Jndaism for the now truly saving creed. In the city of Aragon the Jews, making a timely offer of their entire wealth to the Court for protection,

escaped ; the offer being accepted. But the once wealthy community that had to purchase its existence by the sacrifice of all its possessions was completely beggared. The towns inhabited by Jews became everywhere seas of blood[1] ; the few congregations that survived were crushed in spirit and terrified at the slightest word. So demoralised had they become by oppression, and so terrified at a word that they lost all manhood and sense of resistance.

The Portugese communities were, owing to the influence of the King, Don Joas I, safe, for he distinctly forbade, under severe punishments, any excesses against the Jews and quickly restrained those prelates whom he most suspected of stirring up the people to attack them. Immediately the vigilance of the Spanish clergy, their most implacable foes, had been relaxed, large numbers of those, who, to save their lives and the lives of their wives and children, had purchased life with a lie on their lips, escaped across the frontiers and settled in the Moorish Kingdoms of Granada, Morocco, Tunis, Fez, or Portugal, where they were able to exercise their religion. Those who could not contrive to escape had to appear externally as Christians, attend masses, go to confession, celebrate the Catholic feasts, fasts and Saints' days, but at heart they were Jews and in secrecy were rigid adherents to every minute Jewish ordinance. "Goaded by cowardly persecution," says Watts, "the proselytes groaned after deliverance, many even dared to renounce the profession of a faith they never held, for they had maintained the practice of Jewish rites in private." This class of proselytes, a very important factor in the Spanish population and society, were termed Marranos (Damned) and were the principal sect against which the relentless and inhuman arm of the monstrous Inquisition of Blood was directed. Of the vast numbers that accepted Christianity, some were actuated by the most reprehensible motives, several wished to mortify relatives, others were thirsting for admission to, and promotion in, the Roman Hagiarchy. Paul de Santâ Maria was one of these. He was a Rabbi, who before assuming that very euphuistical appellation had to content himself with the less musical and more tribal one of Solomon Levi. Desiring to ingratiate himself in the favour of the clergy, he did so by foully calumniating his suffering brethren. Knowing that a word might easily relume the now flickering torch of massacres and bloody orgies, he still traduced them with such asperity, that he was ordained a priest and with un-

(1.) Llorente, a cautious and trustworthy Spanish historian, estimates the number of Jews who perished under the fury of mobs in 1391 at upwards of 100,000.

heard of rapidity, Archdeacon of Trevinjo and Canon of Seville. Don Henry III, King of Castile, showered favours upon him and recommended him to the attention of the Pope, but the brutal apostate attempting to incite a massacre, was restrained from doing so by Cardinal Pampeluna. The intriguant Paul however used his favour with Henry to obtain the deposition, and witness the humiliation, of many of Henry's most faithful Jewish ministers and officials.

During the minority of the Castilian monarch, John II, the Queen Mother, Donna Catalina, and Don Ferdinand assumed the reigns of government. The erstwhile Rabbi Solomon Levi sat next to him in State Council. As a primary move in his machinations—though his royal and priest-ridden victims were pliant and willing accessories—all the Jewish Court officials and grandees were removed and degraded. This trinal body issued in 1408 a series of Laws, the preamble to which informs us that, "Whereas the exercise of Authority by Jews may conduce to the prejudice of the Christian faith, it is necessary to forbid them to hold any public post whatever, lest they have authority over the Christian subjects of the King." Any municipal or provincial body, any responsible noblemen, placing a Jew in a position of trust was to pay a heavy fine ; the Jew accepting the post was to be fined a sum so fabulous that, its impossibility of payment being patent to the lambent legislators, an alternative of confiscation of all goods and fifty lashes on the bare body was substituted. One-third of the sum raised by such confiscation was to go as the reward of the court passing the sentence, and the informer who set the machinery of this legalized outrage in motion. Solomon ever on the alert to discover an opportunity for the persecution of his former co-religionists determined to judicially murder Don Meir Alguades after the same style as Don Samuel Levi, the faithful, innocent, servant of Don Pedro. Don Meir who was perhaps the most influential and representative Jew in Spain, had been the body physician and intimate friend of the deceased King, Henry III ; he was now arrested and imprisoned under the following circumstances :—the Queen Regent and Solomon being in Segovia a certain Jew was charged with having purchased from a needy sacristan a sacramental wafer intending to blaspheme and outrage it, but ere the Jew had drawn his knife to stab the " Host " it performed the full complement of stock miracles ; torrents and rivers and oceans of blood had gushed from it, though it did not affirm that the trembling Jew, who had in haste and terror taken it to a monastery, was guilty. Bishop Velasquez de Tordesillas gave—or professed to give—his credence to this extraordinary story and

imprisoned a number of Jews.[1] Don Meir Alguades was designedly included in the number though it is obvious that he could not possibly have any connection with a crime perpetrated in a town so far removed from his residence as Segovia was.

All were formally arraigned on a charge of sacrilege and placed on their criminal trial. The judges resolved to convict, and placing every prisoner under torture,[2] Don Meir and his fellow victims admitted their culpability ; the former during a very vigorous turn of the rack admitted having poisoned his royal master Henry, though the cause of his death was well known even to the judges. He was most cruelly tortured and then torn limb from limb ; the remaining Jews also met their deaths by being rent in pieces, but the revolting spectacle never touched the brutal Solomon, the prime instigator of the vapid and fictive accusations. It was thought to be a fitting sequel to seize the principal synogogue in Segovia and turn it into a church ; but the zealous bishop of that city was not yet contented ; he suborned his cook to allege that certain Jews had attempted to bribe him to poison his godly master, and on this unfounded, unproved and mendacious pretext a number of the most representative and pious Jews in Segovia were barbarously executed, or rather murdered. The Mohammedan States and the Berber princes continued to kindly receive such Jews who had of their own volition fled their own persecuting country. These daily emigrating from Spain and Majorca were permitted to settle in Moorish territory, and numerous Hebrew congregations sprang up in Northern Africa, but the vast majority who remained in Spain and the Marranos or "New Christians" numbering at that time at least 200,000, who had to save their lives professed a disbelief in Judaism, soon discovered a new scourge in the person of a torvous and ascetic Dominican friar, Vincent Ferrer (afterwards Canonized), whose life's mission was to endeavour to foist monasticism upon the entire human race as the only means of obtaining salvation and immortality. He was possessed of the most irrestible and winning eloquence and, though sincere in his vacuous theories, master

---

(1.) Some of the incidents in this monstrous transaction recall the deed of that Almoxarif (or State Treasurer), who in a time of great want purchased from the King the ten wealthiest Jewish families in Spain for 800 lbs. of silver, racked them to death and confiscated their wealth, thus realising a handsome profit on the investment.

(2.) How valueless the confessions of Jews whilst under torture were is seen by the case of two brothers ; Judah and Samuel Ankoah. These young Jews had, whilst on the rack, confessed the theft of two of the royal goblets and on the third day after their public execution as thieves, the goblets were accidentally found in the possession of one of the Palace servants who owned having stolen and hidden them.

of all those rhetorical arts and wiles, by which the minds of men are captivated and their wills dominated. Like the flagellants of an earlier period he led a train of friars, a body of roaring fanatics throughout the country, everywhere preaching with a voice of thunder and tragic gesturing, the speedy arrival of the Millenium, his followers lashing and lacerating their bodies with knotted cords as a penance till the blood streamed from their wounded backs. Ferrer had resigned the very highest posts in the Church to which the Pope had appointed him and wandered about as a barefooted friar, denouncing vice, and with it the listless toleration of heresy, in the midst of Christianity. His influence was absolutely unbounded and when he resolved to use it as a lever for the heaping up of additional miseries upon the Jews, their position could not have been enviable. Whilst in Spain a few humane monarchs ever tried to protect them by their rigorous and evenhanded punishment of anti-Semitic excesses and the determined repression of outrage, the clergy, who had absolute sway over the minds and actions of the public, counteracted the efforts of their sovereign, exercising their paramount influence to procure results diametrically opposed to humanity. It was truly anomalous for a King to heap honours upon Jews, make them his court mathematicians,[1] physicians, astronomers, marshals, major domos, intendants and other officials. Jayme I of Aragon studied ethics and metaphysics under Jewish scholars at the very time of the bitterest tribulation of the Aragonese Jews.

St. Vincent decided to devote himself to the denunciation and active persecution of Jews and heretics ; considering this to be the first duty of a Christian possessing such influence that he could suppress a fierce political or religious uprising by a letter, or create one by a sermon ; after having done service here he would, he decided, win further laurels by reforming the crying abuses of the Church : speak against simony, the concubinage of the clergy and their greed[2] and ignorance. He compelled Jews and Mohammedans alike to attend the mosques, and crucifix in hand, roared threats of damnation and hell against all infidels.

(1.) Alfonso the Wise who employed many learned Jews in the compilation of the famous Alfonso Tables.

(2.) These reverend divines who inculcated Christianity with a battle axe in their hands quarrelled with the barons for portions of land. They seized the incomes of Churches and abbeys. Bishop and Baron strove with each other who could get most for himself out of the property of the church. The layman forced his serfs to elect his infant son to an abbacy or bishopric and then pillaged the estate and stripped the lower clergy in the minor's name. "The Eighteen Christian Centuries," page 37.

Shortly after his inception of this anti-Semitic crusade he pointed out to the bigoted queen mother and regent Donna Catalina and her co-regent Ferdinand, in governing Castile and persecuting the Jews, the absolute and paramount necessity of rendering intercourse, whether commercial or social, between Jews and Christians illegal. Assisted by the apostate Solomon Levi—Paul de Santa Maria—they promulgated a series of laws (1412) which were calculated to realise Vincent Ferrier's ambition to drive the Jews into Christianity and restrain the New Christians (Marranos) from their wicked Judaising and also sate the hatred of Paul who was eagerly and impatiently awaiting the bitterest humiliation and mortification of his suffering race. The first paragraph alone of the Code teaches us how much a Saint of the Roman Catholic Calendar, an apostate Jew and a supposititiously wise ruler could tolerate dissent from their own views on religion and protect a homeless people, whose industry and skill alone had prevented the corrupt and rotten fabric of Castilian monarchy, ever shaken by anguine and intriguant clergy, debauched and piratical nobles, and seditious and rebellious subjects, to the very base, from falling and had ever been the mainstay of Spanish commerce, the founders and pioneers of her culture and learniug and the staple cause of her supremacy and power. The Jews throughout Castile, it was ordained, were to reside in specially indicated quarters, (Juderias ;) these were to possess only one gate which was to serve for both ingress and egress ; thus anyone living in the remotest part of this *al fresco* gaol would have to enter by this particular gate and traverse the entire distance ; and anyone residing outside of the pestilential quarter was, on due conviction, that is on the report of any person, to have his goods confiscated and was also subject to a public flogging of fifty lashes.

The judicial autonomy for the settlement of civil and venial criminal cases with which they—knowing what a trial in the ordinary courts meant—had invested their Rabbins, was removed, all disputes between Jews having to come before the cognizance of the secular tribunals. They were debarred by this tyrannical code from practising medicine or following any handicraft whatever ; they were to have no business or ordinary dealings with Christians. Any Jew convicted of shaving, clipping his beard, or cutting the hair of his head was to receive one hundred lashes, which punishment was to be publicly administered. Those who might presume to wear the Spanish costume, or any garb of fine texture were, for the first offence to be heavily fined, and for a repetition their entire goods were to be confiscated. Both sexes were commanded to attire themselves in long coarse robes of dark and repulsive colours upon which were to be fixed

a large red badge which was to be the brand of all Jews and unbelievers resident in the most Christian kingdom of Castile. Jews were especially directed to avoid the professions of physicians, surgeons, apothecaries, nurses and lawyers, as also the trades of grocers, barbers, innkeepers, and vintners. No Jew, it was also decreed, might wear swords, daggers or similar arms. The laws concerning "the Jewish heresy" addressed to Christians were little short of official instructions to fall upon and oppress them by every means in their power. Any Jew addressing a Jew verbally or by letter as "Don" was to be heavily fined for his culpable misdemeanour.

The nobles, magistrates, alcades and municipal authorities, as well as the citizens, were explicitly and severely adjured to raise no finger in protection of a Jew. They were also directed to watch that they did not infringe the laws which prohibited them from carrying weapons with which they might protect themselves. A direct invitation to massacre them after the style of the Crusaders was not necessary, the council rightly realising that they could safely relegate that task to the clergy, who though they led lives of the most shameless profligacy and vice, as their own historians admit, possessed vast influence and so invariably used it to the detriment of the Jews, that almost all the Jews' sufferings on Iberian soil are due to their cowardly machinations. The highest ecclesiastical leaders preached the extirpation of the Jews from the pulpit. By this outrageous code of 1412 it was also provided that they were not to travel from one town to another. Any Jew who might disobey this law was not to be executed or sold into slavery, but his property was to be seized by the State and he was to become the bondsman of the King. All these cruel laws were not allowed to become inoperative ; they were executed with the most inhuman severity ; baptism was the only loophole of escape. Nor were they aimed at the middle classes of Jewish society alone ; those grandees of the Castilian court, whose influence many lordly hidalgoes desirous of some royal concession, had thought wise to propitiate : those stately physicians, merchants, bankers and members of the various learned professions who were very numerous were in no wise exempted from the equable operation of this code. The result was that the poor Jews were reduced from positions of wealth and influence to the most abject and penurious misery. Having reduced the hated people to the lowest rung of the social ladder and heaped upon them the hatred of the court and nobility and the vengeful bigotry of the clergy and people, Vincent Ferrer took a pastoral tour throughout Castile visiting every town inhabited by Jews, and entering the synagogues accompanied by a contingent of monks, bearing aloft

fiery crucifixes, he thundered, with dramatic fervour and studied arsis, against the obstinate refusal of the Jews to deify one of their number. Doubtless deeming a comminatory appeal to their interests of more efficiency than a panegyric on the value of the salvation and redemption he so industriously and vehemently extolled, he assured them that the obdurate continuation in the wicked Jewish creed would entail additional sufferings, while a formal abjuration of the same would not only render every restriction nugatory but ensure their speedy advancement in whatever profession or craft they desired to excel.

Large numbers finding escape from Spain impossible entered the Catholic Church, but many remained firm. What had Friar Vincent achieved? It would perhaps be safe to say that during the terrors of his four months' earnest ministration, that is, Jew-converting expedition, not one hundred out of the vast multitudes who abandoned their ancestral faith did so in sincerity. It is hardly possible that sentient men would of their own volition exchange a creed containing all the essential ingredients for the moral reform of mankind as well as the noblest, most humane, and just doctrines, for one which pays a premium upon blind and unreasoning faith, which it exalts over acts of virtue and one the spiritual representatives of which were till the times of Martin Luther at least, the greatest criminals, despoilers of orphans, robbers of widows, libertines, poisoners, and assassins in Europe. St. Vincent's only real achievement was the great augmentation of that vast body of Marranos or secret Jews who, under the euphemistical appellation of New Christians adhered with scrupulous care to the Judaism of the Bible and the Talmud.

In 1405 the "Cortes of Madrid," under the Presidency of the King, Henry III, reviewed the legislation upon the Jews and somewhat modified it, though it did not abrogate any important law as will be seen by this :—

"Jews and Moors are to wear an ostensible sign or badge, and if found without it or placed out of sight they are to forfeit their clothes but to avoid being hurt by Christians they need not wear it while travelling ; but on their arrival at their destination, they are, as well as ten days after the publication of this ordinance in the capital, and within thirty days after it is published in the capital of each diocese : nor are they to wear slashed hose or flowing robes. All privileges and laws to the contrary I hereby revoke and annul,"

When immediately after Henry's death the Dominican monks induced his relict to issue an order expelling the Jews the intended victims dissuaded her from insisting on its execution by giving her 50,000 crowns.

In 1414 two of the bitterest foes of the Castilian Jews left that Kingdom ; Don Ferdinand, who through the intercession of St. Vincent received the crown of Aragon, and the Saint himself who now directed his attention to the spiritual requirements of the Jews of that Kingdom. Sequent upon this Donna Catalina, in the name of the youthful King, submitted the code of 1412, under which the Jews were so bitterly groaning, to a slight revision, a revision in which the number of feminine foibles and peccadiloes evince the absence of any male coadjutors in it. Jews were still debarred from entering any profession or following any handicraft, but they might, under multitudinous restrictions, attend the markets and expose their wares for sale. They might also trim their beards and clip their hair a little, but this must not be done with scissors ; shaving with a razor was declared punishable at law, as was also omitting to grow a row of hair on the chin. They were allowed to wear certain less coarse clothes for dress than those they had been previously directed to use ; but to compensate for this concession a high cone-shaped hat was to be worn.

In Aragon, Vincent Ferrer was, of course, as unimpeded as he had been in Castile, and his frantic denunciations of, and incitations to persecute, the Jews created still more unwilling, unbelieving, and dispising votaries of a creed, which appeared so extraordinarily anxious to disseminate its doctrines, as not not to hesitate from resorting to every species of violence to obtain members. 35,000 forced apostates from Judaism, and whole multitudes from Mohammedanism were the chief recommendations of Vincent to canonisation.

Pope Benedict XIII, a man who had been excommunicated and deprived of his temporal and spiritual jurisdiction, now conceived the idea—simultaneously with his physician, a baptized Jew, Solomon Lorqui, who sported the name of Geronimo de Santa Fe—of converting every Jew in Spain to Christianity. Wonderful how the ideas, if not the ambitions, of these two degraded men synchronised. The Christian, who claimed to be the sole Vice-regent of God, as did two other equally debased men—was disowned (except in Aragon where he maintained a semblance of Papal authority which did not cross its border line), was barely recognised as a Christian by his own creed. The Jew, who had from ulterior motives embraced the creed whose first duty it was (in this century at least) to hound and hunt his suffering brethren like beasts of the forest, was never spoken of in language other than that of the greatest detestation. Yet these two crafty men were going to drive myriads of honest, upright, patient men into the nominal profession and practice of a religion, which if

judged by these two proselytising representatives, would have little indeed to commend it. We must not however censure the schismatic Benedict too severely for his ambition, for he thought by realising it, to reconcile himself for his past misdeeds with the body of the Church and also to win eternal fame by consummating, what endless numbers of prelates before him had solemnly sworn to do, and as solemnly failed, to convert the Jewish race to Christianity. Benedict now abetted by King Ferdinand, Vincent Ferrer and his troop of followers opened the campaign by summoning a number of the principal Rabbins and Talmudists in the kingdom to enter with his greatest theologians (prompted and tutored by the Israelitish apostates with whom the Papal court abounded)[1] into a formal debate upon the relative merits and claims to scriptural authenticity, as well as the doctrines of Judaism and Christianity. Thus over twenty of the most influential and learned Hebraists in Aragon, whose names had been submitted by Geronimo de Santa Fe (alias Solomon Lorqui,) were commanded by royal edict and under threat of severe punishment to present themselves and declare their readiness to proceed with the disputation. This was mainly conducted on the Christian side by the baptized Jew, who was a skilled Hebraist and a deeply versed Talmudist ; till near the end of 1415, all together nearly two years, nearly seventy sittings having been recorded. When the Jews were for the first time ushered into the audience chamber they realised the melancholy status of their people. All had been brought about by the baptized recreant, who, anxious to insinuate himself into the Papal favour, urged that the Talmud admitted the Incarnation and Messianic character of Christ. The Pope, Church dignitaries, and secular nobility, gorgeously attired, viewed the few trembling Jewish patriots with lofty disdain. Those of Tortosa, the theatre of the debate, and of all Aragon, assembled in their synagogues and devoutly prayed and fasted imploring God to avert what, they intuitively felt, would prove a grave disaster. The Jewish party were restrained in speech and argument, whilst the Christian one quoted all the myriads of Rabbinic paradoxes, witticisms, metaplasms, satires and ambages, as the essential tenets, nay the very crux of Judaism, crudely and cruelly distorting and obliquely interpreting almost every syllable of those writings into all manner of irrecognizable shapes and forms. Had the Rabbins of the Talmud—a work which readily lends itself to misconstruction—only foreseen

(1.) Christendom's favouring renegades was of the greatest service to the Hebrew race, for it helped Judaism to despumate her ills and diseases ; every tree has its daddock. The blackmailing Jewish apostates were the daddock of Israel.

the indescribable misery and persecutions some of their expressions would have caused their benighted descendants, they would most certainly have expressed their ideas in closer language.

Finding that after all his specious arguments and pains to convert them, not one of the representatives wavered, he closed the disputation, dismissed the Jews with an angry scowl and revenged himself by issuing a ferocious bull against the entire body of Spanish Jews. If he could not convert them he could by his temporal power—like Vincent Ferrer, who still paraded the Juderias, crucifix in hand, urging the mob to themselves convert the Jews—publish orders against them, which would most effectually degrade them. No Jew was to study the Talmud and cognate literature. Any work calling the truths of doctrinal Christianity into question was not to be read ; the owner rendered himself open to a persecution for blaspheming Christianity and calumniating its tenets. One small and simple synagogue alone was to be allowed in each city, the remainder were to be demolished. This last law was evidently intended as an improvement on that of Alfonso X who had decreed (1261) :—"The Jews may not enlarge, elevate or beautify their synagogues." Benedict relegated them to ghettos ; they were forbidden to eat, drink, or bathe with Christians under the severest penalties. Commercial intercourse with members of the superior creed was invalidated. They were not to hold posts under the crown whether civil or military ; all handicrafts were indicted to them, as was also the practice of medicine and surgery. The "badge" was renewed as a canon of the Church and "not content with having ordered and witnessed the seizure, confiscation and public burning of the Talmud, the bulwark of his antagonists," he directed that they should be compelled to listen to sermons urging their conversion thrice yearly. Gonzalo, son of the apostate Solomon Levi, was appointed to supervise the consummation of this last injunction.

In the first sermon—to be delivered during Advent—the appearance of the Messiah in the person of Jesus was to be proved to them from Isaiah and the Talmud. The second—during Holy Week—was to be devoted to an exposure of the contents of some portions of the latter work. This sermon, or rather diatribe, was prepared by the Jewish convert, Joshua Lorqui. The last sermon—to be delivered during the summer—was to be in proof that the sufferings of the Hebrew people were due to their wicked rejection of Jesus Christ and their equally wicked adhesion to the blasphemous and heretical Talmud which, they were assured, was the sole cause of their hardened infidelity. The decree of the Council of Constance (for which curiously enough

the Emperor Sigismund made the Jews defray the expenses of session) irrevocably deposing Benedict as a creator of Schisms rendered the prolonged and stringent administration of his brutal bull difficult, and ultimately impossible. St. Vincent Ferrer, in vehement language, exhorted all Spaniards to pursue the "wicked spurious and unfrocked Pope" to the death, and King Ferdinand and Paul became his bitterest foes.

In 1443 when the merciless and violent bull of Pope Eugenius IV was heaping so much misery upon half the Jews of Europe, Alvarez de Luna, the Royal favorite, urged his master, Juan II, now ruling in person in place of his bigoted heretic-hunting mother, to in a measure nullify the effects that document hoped to obtain by deprecating and punishing the numerous armed attacks upon the Spanish Jews, which were so natural an outcome of the Pope's commands.

The representatives of the terrified Castilian Jewish communities, who were in haste despatched to Juan, evoked the opinion that the laws and constitution of Castile permitted the residence and protection of Jews and Moors on its soil but did not tolerate armed onslaughts upon them. True! they must suffer for their heresies, but not by being pillaged and attacked by Christian mobs.

During the reign of Henry IV, of Castile, the Jews received fairly humane treatment; they were in fact so well protected against outrage and the hatred of the clergy, that many Marranos who had professed to apostatise—and some of them had even entered monastic and clerical orders—and yet secretly conformed to the rites of Judaism, living on vegetables, were emboldened to disdainfully fling aside the hateful mask by which their very lives were preserved and return to the open practice of the religion of their fathers. In this reign an accusation was lodged against certain Jews who were at once imprisoned. They were charged with having torn the heart out of a living Christian child after having cut pieces of flesh out of it.

King Henry instituting an impartial and searching examination into the matter, the charge was proven to be absolutely without the barest shred of foundation.

A new misfortune for the Jews arose in the person of Alfonso de Spina resident in Salamanca. Though he did not possess the unbounded influence and eloquence of either John of Capistrano or Vincent Ferrer, he was able to wound them in their most vulnerable parts. Not content with writing truculent books which loudly inculcated the extirpation of all dissidents from Christianity whatever their form of heresy, he strongly advised the seizure and forcible baptism of Jewish children and the wholesale persecutions of all who

demurred from his plans. From the pulpit and the very altar steps, he called upon the King "In the name of the Apostles" not to connive at the Jews eluding those exercises wisely imposed upon them by the different anti-Semitic Canons of the Church. The nobles he bitterly denounced for "criminally favouring" the Jews, that is, meting out to them equitable treatment and giving them common rights with Christians. The Clergy were reprobated for their laxity and remissness in the monachal supervision of the infidels. Alfonso refurbished all the old libels born of credulity and believed by cupidity. They were stealers, branders, and crucifiers of Christian children ; host pounders, outragers and desecrators, users of Christian blood for the Paschal night, haters of mankind, and in fine guilty of every crime his fecund mind and splenetic bigotry could lay against them. The mantic Alfonso foresaw that if the Jews were not speedily relegated to ecclesiastical supervision the downfall of Europe was imminent. This summons to the Priesthood of Spain couched in such frantic language bore instant fruits, for directly following the publication of his book, "Fortalitum Fidei," a monk of Medina del Campo, crucifix and breviary in hand, ordered an instant massacre of the Jews in that town. No call of a superior was ever obeyed with more vigour and determination, for the entire populace, arming themselves, fell upon the Jews and burnt them alive after having horribly sacked their quarter. Their houses were razed ; their synagogal requisites burnt, together with the owners, (November 1460.) Don Henry was bitterly opposed to the constant massacres of Jews which were of such frequent occurrence in his Kingdom, yet he ratified a code prepared by his three chief ministers, one of whom (Don Pacheco) was of Judaic origin. It was really a repetition of the code of Donna Catalina and the Court Saint with the exception that the exclusion of Jews from practising as apothecaries doctors and surgeons and their confinement in ghettos were more stringently enforced.

In April, 1468, the Jews of Sepulveda were collectively charged with the torture and crucifixion of a Christian child. Their Rabbi, Solomon Picho, a bent and white-haired old man, was, by a remarkable consensus of opinion, pointed out as the prime instigator. The Bishop of the diocese, Juan Arias, a Jew, the moment he heard of the charge, which had a very strong appearance of having been formulated by his myrmidons, acting under secret instructions, instantly ordered a number to be taken to Segovia and punished ; some were burnt at the stake. others were hung on the gallows.

In 1470, the numerous partisans of Isabella, took up arms in Valladolid her capital and attacked the "New Christians." Though

Henry was anxious to prevent another massacre of Jews staining the records of his reign, he could not—and did not—punish the instigators or ringleaders of the last attack in his kingdom.

On March 14th, 1472, a barbarous slaughter of Marranos in Cordova was the direct result of a venial incident. They had been accused of disrespect to a picture of the Virgin, which was being conducted through the city with very great pageants nnd solemnity by a noble lady under a beautiful silken canopy. A ruffian in the crowd anxious to cause a tumult addressed the teeming multitude, who flocked to the market square, and with impassioned invective exhorted them, to avenge the gross contumely—very probably refusal to kneel to it in adoration—with which the sacred emblem had been treated. A few moments later the Cordovan Jewry was aflame, the rabble going from house to house butchering, pillaging, torturing, and leaving the fire to complete the vengeance. So irresistible and overwhelming had been the attack and so numerous was the mob, that the resident military who had attempted to stay the frightful slaughter, which continued for two days and one night without intermission, were compelled to desist from defending the Jews and betake themselves to flight. Many Jews contrived to escape but these fugitives were hunted like wild beasts of the chase ; wherever they were seen the most horrible death inevitably awaited them. A few Cordovan Jews who had by the greatest of fortune contrived to escape from that city and find temporary refuge in the vicinity were quickly hunted out and slaughtered with the most appalling cruelty. Some were smoked out of caves by means of fires being kindled near the entrance of those supposed to contain Israelites ; in others they were walled in. An organized Jew-hunt from town to town, everywhere attended with the most sickening atrocities, culminated in a huge attack on the Hebrew residents of Seville. The standing case against the Marranos, against whom the fury of this campaign was primarily directed, was that whilst outwardly professing a belief in Christianity they not only in private failed to practise its injunctions, but distinctly entertained the greatest antipathy towards it. It had been noticed that though the vast majority of these new Christians contrived to elude the laws which enforced the baptism of their children, the few who did bring them to the font invariably wiped the waters off on their return home. They firmly refused to partake of lard, pork, or any foods prepared by Gentiles. On the Passover they abstained from all but vegetable foods. They circumcised their children, fasted on the 9th of Av., contributed liberally towards the support of the synagogues and their officials and were in

many respects identical with the professed Jews, whose abominable heresies they had sworn to abstain from practising. These were the principal causes of the massacres of the Christian neophytes throughout the peninsula, yet the reader, even after reading this excerpt from the catalogue of their crimes, will barely condone their wholesale slaughter as inculcated by the bishops, monks and clergy of the country. At Seville so determined and irrepressible was the attack upon the Jewish quarter that the military had the greatest difficulty in preventing it from taking a still more serious turn than it did, January 1473.

In 1474 (May 16th), the command of Don Pacheco, who was now in open rebellion against the King, to enter the houses of the secret Jews in Segovia, slaughter the inhabitants and annex their property, was obeyed. Whole troops of citizens armed to the teeth burst upon them unawares, destroyed their quarters and butchered everyone of the poor Jews with the most fiendish barbarity. They, by the acceptance of the Church euphemism of "New Christians," had sought to prolong a wretched existence forfeited by heredity to the very system which had magnanimously permitted them to live so long without exercising its indisputable prerogative.

At this time the Spanish Jew groaned under the heaviest of taxes. Among other things "they had to pay for the King's dinner; they were subjected to a hearth tax; they had to pay for every act of their lives, for leaving and entering towns, for passing through gates or traversing bridges, for crossing the frontiers of diminutive states, for buying or selling, for marriage or sepulture. The tax collector stood by the sexton and stopped the burial till his fee of two florins was handed to him, In Granada the Jews had to pay an alfarda or strangers' tax, in 1480, though the Jews were far older settlers in Andalusia than those who imposed the tax."[1] In many Spanish towns they had been strictly forbidden to use the public promenades.

In 1482 the Municipal Councils of Guifuscoa and Toledo passed such percicodes of laws against the Jews of those towns that Queen Isabella had to demand their instant revocation.

In 1492 the blow, so long impending, fell. That fierce bigot rightly surnamed Ferdinand the Catholic, together with his spouse Isabella, the priest-ridden, decided, upon the earnest representations of Friar Thomas de Torquemada, the Inquisitor General, a Dominican, who had in his eighteen years of office burnt nearly eight thousand Jews at the stake as relapsed, impenitent, and obstinate

(1.) Israel Abrahams, M.A., in his "Jewish Life in the Middle Ages," a work to which I am indebted for much sound information.

heretics, and the clergy, grandees and nobles of the country, to banish the Jews whom the populace were now weary of slaughtering. Neither Ferdinand nor Isabella, admits Prescott, had they been left to the unbiased dictates of their own reason, would have sanctioned for a moment so impolitic a measure which involved the loss of the most industrious and skilful portion of their subjects. The case against the Jews was that they had secretly encouraged the conversos or "New Christians" in their clandestine attachment to Judaism ; burning, impaling and imprisoning them, all had proved ineffectual.

Marranos had been seen using different table linen and garments on Sabbaths, and were known to bless their children on Friday nights, to kill cattle and poultry with special implements, to ask forgiveness of each other on the Day of Atonement, and otherwise signify a belief in Hebrew superstitions.

The Jews were dazed by the blow and when they realized their position their cry for mercy resounded through the peninsula. "The State was begged to thrust them forth from the soil and thus extirpate the wicked heresy which the Holy Office had failed to do. The unifiction of Spain by the marriage of Ferdinand and Isabella and the subjugation of Granada placed the Jews of nearly the whole peninsula under their decree."

Not only did this heartrending edict fail to elicit the commiseration of the nation but the masses even beheld it with transports of wild joy. The public mind and morals were trained by the Church, and the bigotry fostered by the clergy, together with the envy of the wealth and influence acquired by patient industry and talent during many centuries combined to render the horror stricken Jews objects of popular hatred. The endless denunciations of heresy and the fury aroused against infidels by the long and costly seige of Mohammedan Granada created a national callousness to the sufferings of non-Christians. At this unpropitious moment Jewish simulations of Christianity were not rare, and viewed with much suspicion ; unfortunately many of the pretended acceptors of the newer faith unwittingly betrayed their covert attachment to Judaism. This enraged the clergy who became insistent and clamorous, all the old lying calumnies were refurbished. Jewish physicians were popularly believed to poison Christian patients ! Jews were Host insulters ! Jews stole boys and girls for the purpose of crucifying them ! Jews commit every possible and impossible crime in the catalogue of human iniquity !

They had in the majority of cases, through their thrift and knowledge risen to sound positions and attained social eminence. They were admittedly the most educated class in Spain, partakers in its

progress, large contributors to its prosperity and they loved their country with unspeakable fervour. All this was forgotten and blotted out in one day. They were to be ignominiously banished from the scenes of their childhood, from the land of their birth, from the lovely Castile of their ancestors, from the Spain which they had for many centuries enriched, adorned and served. They were to be heartlessly thrust out with a mark of infamy set on their foreheads : for no other crime than attachment to their race.

But one reason was assigned for the inexorable act of expulsion, which enjoined (March 31st, 1492), that the Jews must under pain of death, within four months, vacate Castile, Aragon, Granade, Sicily, and Sardinia, those of Andalusia had already been expelled. It was that those openly professing the Jewish faith secretly encouraged the Marranos to relapse into their old errors. It was solemnly proved that open and secret Jews alike circumcised their children, lit candles and blessed bread on Fridays, abstained from lard, pork, and Christian foods, assembled together in cellars, stables and garrets for prayer, and to read the law on Sabbaths and Jewish festivals ; that the Jews gave Marranos copies of the Talmud and taught those, whose parents were too apprehensive to do so, the tenets of Judaism, supplied them with meat slaughtered according to a certain form, and prepared by a curious ritual process. They secretly contrived, despite the thousands of alert spies and minions of the Holy Office who dogged their every step, to supply the New Christians with greens and unleavened bread during the Feast of Passover, and also sent them loaves of bread hollowed out in such a manner as to allow of the secretion of phylacteries. Numerous other devices, it was attested, were resorted to by the avowed Jews to maintain and urge the secret Jews to remain true to their faith, and for no other crimes than these, their sympathy for their tortured fellow Jews, and their refusal to renounce Judaism their expatriation was decided upon, the plastic bigot Ferdinand consenting to an act which ruined his empire. Thus wasone of the greatest crimes ever known in the History of Europe, the outcome of a man whose apparent purpose in life was to further the aims of religion and its concomitant virtue, humanity. Over half a million human beings were cast out of the country of their birth, out of the country which their fathers had almost alone, built up by their industry and culture, qualities which had been indisputably theirs since their earliest settlement there. They were to be allowed to take only such goods with them as were free export ; gold, silver, or money in any form was not to be removed. The reason assigned for this unjust provision was that all measures, even the Holy Inquisition, having

been tried to dissuade the Jews from maintaining those wavering Catholics the Marranos in their constant and obstinate relapses into Judaism and the practices of those abominable customs enjoined by the Jewish heresy in vain, they had themselves invited measures of the severest nature. Those who embraced Christianity might remain in the country.[1] "Within the short term fixed by the edict, the Jews sold and disposed of their property for a mere nothing. They went about begging Christians to buy but found no purchasers; fine houses and estates were sold for trifles. A house was changed for an ass, and a vineyard given for a little cloth or linen."[2] During the whole time heralds proclaimed in every town and place that the expulsion of the Jews had been irrevocably decreed, and any person professing the religion of Moses found on Spanish soil after the 31st July, 1492, would be executed.

To better impoverish the Jews the government professed that they were indebted to the different nobles and corporations and sequestrated their properties till they had procured acquittals from the pseudo creditors (who had been instructed in the part by the court officials) for these imaginary debts. Speaking upon this, a writer satirically observes, "Strange indeed! that the balance should be found against a people who had been everywhere conspicuous for their commercial sagacity and resources." Fray Tomas de Torquemada, the grand Inquisitor, instructed the clergy to force them into Christianity by rendering them hungry and penniless. All Christians and Marranos had already been enjoined to abstain from affording shelter or protection to Jews, but their cup of suffering was full when he sequestered their debts in Aragon, Catalonia and Valencia, nullified the bills against the monasteries and clergy and cancelled all debts due to them by Christians. The Dominican friars, to whom the work of conversion was mainly relegated, paraded the streets and public squares expounding the doctrines of Christianity and thundering forth both argument and invective against the Hebrew heresy: but their endeavours were counteracted by the Jewish Rabbins, who compared the persecutions of their brethren to those which their ancestors had suffered under Pharaoh. They encouraged them to persevere, representing that the present afflictions were intended as a trial of their faith by the Almighty, who wished in this way to test them. The wealthier Jews

(1.) "There were found but very few when the day of departure arrived who were not prepared to abandon their country rather than their faith. This extraordinary act of self devotion by a whole people for conscience sake may be thought in the nineteenth century to merit other epithets than those of perfidy, incredulity, and stiff-necked obstinacy."—*Prescott.*

(2.) Lindo.

gave their sympathy practical form in the generous relief of their poorer brethren. Monks entered the synagogues and—crucifix in hand—urged the Jews to save themselves by turning to the sympathetic bosom of Holy Mother Church, who, for the sake of Jesus would pardon their past infidelity and remove their sorrows. Their fiery sermons had as little effect upon the Jews as the minatory remarks with which they uttered their perorations; each one urged his companion. "If they let us live we will live; if they kill us we can but die," said they. The Rabbis had all along exhorted their hearers to show the steadfastness and submission that had ever characterised their forefathers and begged them not to fail in this test of their faith and determination. Had the monks and clergy of Spain but known the effect of every single word that fell from the lips of the Spanish Rabbins between the months of March and July, they would instantly have discontinued the futile and frenzied efforts by which they thought to drive the Jews, if they possessed but one human weakness, into the arms of the Church whose representatives hounded them with such unrelenting ferocity. "Dear Brothers," said they, "let us be strong for our religion and the teachings of our fathers against enemies of the Jewish name and worshippers of images and pictures. We will not break the covenant of the law and the commands of the Lord, which Moses our teacher received on Mount Sinai and revealed to us. Let it better be upon the heads of another generation if it is to be. We will go forth from our homes and from the scenes of our childhood our manhood and our old age in the name of the Lord of Hosts." Still they determined to make an effort to dissuade Ferdinand from enforcing the edict. Don Isaac Abarbanel, Statesman, poet, and patriot, a man whose name is familiar to every historical student and reputed to be of Davidic stock, a man who had enjoyed the confidence of successive sovereigns, whom Ferdinand and Isabella had summoned to their Court eight years before, and whose services availed them largely while he farmed the royal revenues, this white haired patriot found his way into the Audience Chamber, knelt before them weeping, wailed and begged for mercy on his nation offering to give 600,000 golden crowns. Again he returned; but we will hear his own voice "I wearied myself to distraction in imploring compassion; thrice on my knees—the learned and noble Don Isaac on his knees to Ferdinand—I besought the King. Regard us Ferdinand, use not thy servants so cruelly. Why do thus to thy servants? Rather exact from us our gold and silver, even all that the house of Israel possesses if he may remain in his country. I likewise entreated my friends the King's officers to allay his anger against my people. I begged the counsellors to advise

the King to repeal the decree, but as the adder closes its ear with dust against the voice of the charmer, so the king hardened his heart against the entreaties of his supplicants and declared that he would not revoke his edict for all the wealth of the Jews. The Queen at his right hand opposed us and urged her Royal consort to continue what he had begun. We exhausted all our power for the repeal of the King's sentence but there was neither wisdom nor help remaining."[1]

As the day fixed for the departure grew nearer the terrible grief of the poor Jews, who barely realized that they were for ever to quit their beautiful Spain, grew more poignant and the more copiously did the tears of the terrified people flow. Probably no sublimer and more pathetic scene was ever witnessed in human history than when the poor people wended their way to the Jewish cemeteries as if to seek solace among the tombs of their sleeping fathers. In many towns the idea of quitting their dear dead was so intolerable that they tore up tombstones and bore them away when they could not find Moors willing to hide them temporarily. In Vittoria the town authorities entered into a bond that it should not be entered or molested but remain as it stood. In return for this they received the adjoining grounds. In Segovia the congregation assembled three days prior to their departure and rent the air with their heartbreaking lamentations. No cognizance was taken of how the Jews had served Spain century after century. The universities had shone with their wonderful learning, the arts and sciences had been faithfully served, the liberal professions adorned, the muses honoured, commerce and trade had derived almost everything from the Jew. This was not thought of—no account was taken of the great and good men, patriots, scholars, artizans, mechanics, and agriculturists. But paralysed with horror as they were, very few entertained the idea of a renunciation of the creed of their forefathers, for leaving their synagogues, in which they had spent many happy hours together, free from all the memories of their outside sorrows, living again in the glorious past, the homes which had been sanctified to love religion and charity, the cemeteries which held their sleeping ancestors, they nobly resolved to seek a shore where they could again worship the God of Abraham without fear of punishment.

The Jews being forbidden to remove their monies were compelled to hide what little they could unperceived in the bridles, harnesses and saddles of their horses. In every port and place of embarkation officers had been appointed with strict instructions to vigorously

---

(1.) Quoted from Dr. Rule.

search the Jews and assure themselves that they were left too penniless to reject the grace of salvation. It was indeed touching to see how the poor exiles, who had resided in Spain centuries before their persecutors, clung together and with what intense devotion they stood by one another in their trouble. The wealthy Jews defrayed the expenses of the departure of whole shiploads of their poorer brethren.

When (in July 1492) they quitted their homes they each made their way to a designated port. The poorer tramped on foot as far as possible, the richer had horses and mules, while the young and weak travelled in carts. The horrors that befel them are beyond all description. Numbers of the weaker fell dead with exhaustion. Some fell from hunger and were left on the road to perish. Many quitted the world, and many entered it, yet a Catholic historian gravely remarks that there was not a Christian who did not feel sympathy for them and entreat them to accept baptism and return to the inhospitable country from which they had been expelled. Vast numbers already expiring refused to desert Judaism, a small hungered and dying few turned to Christianity to save, not their souls, but their lives.

Many Jews we read perished at sea by wreck, disease, violence or fire, and many more by famine, exhaustion or murder on inhospitable shores. Many were sold for slaves, many were thrown overboard by savage captains. Parents were compelled to sell their children for money to buy food. "On board one vessel full of exiles a pestilential disease broke out; the captain landed all on a desert island where they vainly wandered about in quest of assistance. Heartrending tales were told by the survivors. A mother, carrying two infants, walking with her husband, expired on the road. The father overcome with fatigue fell fainting near his two children. On regaining consciousness he found them dead from sheer hunger and buried them in the sand. "My God!" exclaimed he, "my misfortunes would drive me to abandon Thy Law, but I am a Jew and will ever remain so."[1]

A number of the emigrants who had sought to make their way through Italy were allowed to temporarily debark and rest upon the quay of Genoa. The law here forbade Jews from remaining longer than three days in the city. The sufferings of the wanderers were witnessed by a learned Professor of that town, who thus describes the frightful scenes he saw: "No human being could behold the sufferings of the Jewish exiles unmoved. A great many perished of hunger, where a crust would most certainly have saved them, especially those of tender years. Mothers with scarcely strength to support themselves

(1.) Lindo, page 290.

carried their famished and naked infants in their arms and died with them. Many fell victims to the cold, others to intense thirst, while the unaccustomed distresses incidental to a sea voyage aggravated their maladies. I will not enlarge on the cruelty and the avarice which they frequently experienced from the masters of the ships which transported them from Spain. Some were murdered to gratify their cupidity, others forced to sell their children for the expenses of the passage. They arrived in Genoa in crowds, but were not suffered to tarry there long by reason of the ancient laws which interdicted Jews from a longer residence than three days. One might have taken them for spectres, so emaciated were they, so cadaverous in their aspect and with eyes so sunken. They differed in nothing from the dead except in the power of motion, which indeed they scarcely retained, many fainted and then expired upon the mole, which being completely surrounded by the sea was the only quarter vouchsafed to the wretched emigrants. Here lay around a perfect swarm of dead and dying Jews."

Terrible indeed was the fate that had befallen the homeless sons of Jacob and sad was their lot. Where could they go, whither could they wend their weary steps? The gates of Europe were practically closed upon them. Germany was a vast slaughter house to the Jews; from England and France they had been thrust out; Italy, full of revolt and sedition, was flowing with the blood of her noblest sons. Weary and sad the majority timidly rapped at the portals of Turkey. The sectarians of the Crescent, though they too had oppressed the Hebrew race had at times shown fitful and intermittent gleams of commiseration unknown to Christian rule. Right graciously did the Sultan Bajasid receive them, for he perceived in them the backbone of a country and a means of regenerating his own dominions by the immigration of thousands of learned men, physicians, scholars, scientists and tens of thousands of artisans, handicraftsmen and astute tradesmen and upright subjects, victims of an ungrateful country's heartless bigotry. "Ferdinand and Isabella," said he to his ministers, "call themselves wise rulers, yet they have impoverished their country to enrich ours."

But all the exiles were not so fortunate as to find a home. Stories that horrify the most callous reader are again related of their awful sufferings; they were everywhere pursued by the most relentless cruelties and inhumanities; the cowardly emissaries of Torquemada dogged them from town to town, inflicting upon them every species of savage barbarity and then calmly witnessing their harrowing sufferings, offered them peace if they would but renounce their sinful errors. A number of Jews not knowing where to wander disembarked at Algiers, but

the heartless, merciless inhabitants shot at them with their poisoned arrows and slew hundreds of them as they stepped upon the quay. At Oran and Bugia they were informed that, though they might not under any circumstances enter the towns, they would be permitted to rest for a few days outside of it. Thankful for even this they erected crude wooden huts outside the walls, the children collecting the wood and the parents nailing it together ; but the colony outside of the second town was destroyed by fire and after this the unhappy Hebrews had to sleep upon the ground and live on the roots, barks and herbs which they were fortunate enough to find. On the Sabbath they tore them up with their teeth. A number of Jews from Barcelona had chartered a ship and received from the captain of the vessel a written assurance of just treatment, but no sooner were they well out at sea than he compelled them to alight upon a small uninhabited and isolated island from which he knew they could not be succoured and would starve to death, for he had already cast their provisions overboard. In one port a young Jewish girl was violated before the eyes of her parents, the outrager cutting her throat " lest she should conceive and give birth to a Jew." Many captains determined to prolong the voyage and thus force their Hebrew passengers to purchase food at most enormous prices ; the ship went to and fro between the same ports for several months, the Jews not being allowed to disembark. Others, who had lost the little money which they had contrived to secrete about their persons, or had been robbed, commited suicide in the madness produced by a slaking thirst, while the brutal sailors tantalisingly held up flagons of water. "Believe" said some, "or die." Hundreds who bad been deprived of every particle of clothing died from sheer cold accelerated by the shame of indecent exposure. Several ships purchased by exiles were set in flames by the crews they had engaged immediately they had left the quays, the sailors swimming ashore. Others were leaked or sunk by a number of huge weights being cast upon them. The captain of one Castilian vessel resolved to bind all his passengers and cut their throats with the large square-bladed knife of the Rabbi, after the manner of oxen, on the ground that it was his plain and unmistakable duty to bloodily avenge the shedding of the blood of Jesus Christ, for which they were by heredity responsible, but being mollified by the Rabbi's argument that according to the captain's own creed, Jesus had died for sinners and did not desire their death, he was softened into stripping them all naked, throwing some of them bound with ropes overboard and casting the remainder upon a desert island.

At Salee nearly two hundred famished Jewish children were decoyed on to a strange ship, the crew of which had promised to give them each a piece of bread. Directly they were secured they were thrust below deck and the vessel moored her anchor, sailing off to carry them to Africa, there to sell them as slaves to the blacks. The heartrending cries of the children, who understood that they had been deceived and the wails of their parents, who stood upon the quay vainly endeavouring to catch a last glance at their dear ones, were most awful to hear.

Whenever a Jew fainted for hunger a monk would come to him holding bread in one hand and a crucifix in the other. Many lay on the sands ravenously gnawing the roots they had found in the fields. "Happy should we have been" cried one heartbroken Jewish poet "if the grass had been long." One woman driven frantic by the moans of her dying babe weeping for food, seized a huge stone and struck him dead. One inhuman monster, a captain, stripped his Hebrew passengers stark naked and cast them on a barren and uninhabited island. Many were devoured by the wild beasts; to save themselves they dashed headlong into the sea, some perished, but others remained in the water till the beasts quitted the coast. Some, we read, remained in this wretched condition for five days before they had the courage to end their own miseries.

The report having been spread that some Jews had swallowed precious stones and gold coins, the inhuman Arabs as well as the Christians ripped them up alive with horrible violence and examined their entrails, while yet in a living state. Huge numbers of the emigrants were bound and flung overboard head foremost for no other reason than that the crew delighted to see the agonized faces of the parents or children. The officer of a vessel from Navarre laid hands upon a handsome Jewish maiden intending to violate her, but her mother quickly seized her, and threw her and also her sisters into the water, then the Jewish Boadicea sprang into her daughters' briny grave. Vast numbers of Spanish Jews died from the different plagues that were then devastating Europe, in addition to the hordes so cruelly murdered, burnt, strangled, and starved to death.

Here ends the sufferings of the Jews who made open profession of their faith. Those secret Jews, who under the names of "Marranos" or "New Christians" made covert practice of Jewish rites and gave clandestine adhesion to the Mosaic doctrines, remained behind only to provide fresh fuel for the horrible fires and butcheries of the Inquisition, whose work it now was to purge the land of its secret Jews and drag them to the stake to perish in its Autos-da-fe. This was not

always an easy task, for not only were the highest posts in the State filled by Marranos, not only did the monk's cowl and the bishop's mitre often cover the praying shawl and phylacteries of the Jews, but Royalty itself was at times related to them.

Finding it impossible in these few pages to give anything like an adequate description of the establishment, career and fall of the Inquisition, we have refrained from doing more than merely refer to its existence. Its history from a Jewish standpoint will, we sincerely hope, find expression in a future and much shorter work. "The Jews of Spain in the Fifteenth Century" in which the characters of Ferdinand and Isabella and their attitudes towards the Jews (their policy being so bound up in that of the Holy Office) will receive the fuller treatment which it would be unwise to attempt to give here.

CHAPTER X.

SUFFERINGS OF THE JEWS IN PORTUGAL.

But ask of those who Israel scorn,
Would they for faith a badge have worn!

THE first settlement of Jews in this country was contemporaneous with the establishment of Jewish Communities in Spain. They were for centuries unmolested and enjoyed the greatest tranquility. Some Sovereigns advanced them to the highest offices in the gift of the State. Portugal was often an asylum for the Jews of other countries, who having suffered persecution in the lands of their birth had found shelter on Lusitanian soil. The Jews were in each town a corporate body possessing autonomy and certain prescribed judicial and legislative powers. They were however amenable to the Chief Rabbi, a State official, and his seven provincial Rabbins (Ouvidores.) It was quite common for kings of Portugal to confer upon the capable and learned Jews, who abounded in the kingdom, positions of the highest trust and responsibility; even to admit them into their most secret councils. It was one of the bitterest charges of Pope Gregory IX, that King Sancho II appointed Jews to various public offices. This Monarch and his predecessor had protected them against the hatred of the Catholic clergy, and in recognition of this, they and their descendants furnished every Royal Portuguese vessel on leaving port the first time with an anchor and a cable of sixty fathoms. One of the charges made by the clergy to the Pope against King Denis was "that he does appoint Jews to the highest posts in the Kingdom." Alfonso IV, Dom Pedro, and Dom Ferdinand all shielded the Jews against the fierce animosity of their enemies, though they were compelled to make concessions to the clergy, whose influence was often greater than any sapient monarch could successfully cope with.

Dom John, though he had ordered "that their rights and privileges should be respected," sequent to the publication of Pope Boniface IX's bull, confirming the one granted by Clement VI in 1348, which had forbidden Christians from "molesting the Jews in the

exercise of their religion, desecrating their cemeteries and imposing on them other taxes than those to which Christians are subject," ratified the decree of the Cortes of Evora in 1391 and ordered :—

"That all Jews in my dominions shall wear a red star having six points, the size of my royal seal on the breast of the outer garment at the pit of the stomach in such manner as to be visible."

The son of Dom John I, Duarte, decreed in 1438 :—

"That no Jew or Moor shall hold any office in the household of the king, queen, infantes, noblemen, or prelates."

"That neither Jews nor Moors shall have Christian boys or girls in their service for hire or gratis."

"That no Christian woman may enter the warehouses or shops of Jews or Moors unless accompanied by a Christian man.

"That no Christian woman shall enter the Jewry by herself under pain of death."

A curious provision of a Cortes held at Santarem in 1451, was,

"That Jews and Moors shall not be permitted to wear silk dresses."

Seventeen years later a Cortes held in the same town, ordered :—

"That Jews and Moors shall not be permitted to reside without their Jewries and Aljamas and that they shall be compelled to wear the signs enacted by law."

In 1473 a Cortes of Lisbon, desiring to restrain the Catholic clergy from farming their benefices out to Jews, resolved :—

"That Jews shall not be permitted to recover revenues belonging to the Church. Those Christians who encourage this shall be severely punished."

At a Cortes of Evora held in 1481 immediately after the accession of John II. he was presented with a long petition of which the following is a paragraph :—

"Sire, it seems to our people that in regard to the dresses of Jews, Moors, and their wives, your Highness might order that they should wear their sign and dress as formerly on such manner that they may be known as Jews or Moors wherever they are and thereby confer a great favour on your vassals. We also notice Jewish cavaliers mounted on richly caparisoned horses and mules in fine cloaks, cassocks, silk doublets, closed hoods, and with gilt swords so that it is impossible to recognise them."

John made reply :—

"As to the clothes of Jews it it right that they should be of the same description of cloth as I have ordered other men to wear, but they may not wear silk and are only to wear woollen. They are to wear the customary sign of a star, according to the form of the ordinance, on the pit of the stomach."[1]

We will now revert to the year 1382. The first foe of note to seek means for the oppression of the Jews in Portugal was Leonora, wife of Don Ferdinand, who became regent on the death of her husband. This woman, who by her overt craftiness, duplicity, and worthlessness of character was shunned by her own relations, and who by her wiles

(1.) Lindo, page 317.

and unscrupulous ambitions plunged the country into a long and sanguinary war, had during her earlier years urged the King to gratify her inordinate hatred against that people by excluding them—as also the Moors—from all public offices and declaring their future tenure of such as unlawful. When after his death, 1382, she ascended the throne as Queen Regent, she graciously received a deputation from the city of Lisbon, praying for the imposition of important restrictions upon its Hebrew residents, and upon those of the whole Kingdom, and immediately removed all Jewish public servants from the posts in which they had shown such fidelity to the State.

When, in 1492, the Jews had been so barbarously banished from Spain and Navarre, the Portuguese King John II received a deputation of thirty Rabbis headed by the pious and learned Chief of the Spanish communities, Isaac Aboab, asking his permission to permit their co-religionists to pass through his territories in search of a haven ; this he, on payment of a capitation tax, graciously conceded them. Each adult person without exception was to pay eight golden cruzadoes. Artisans, armourers, smiths, and all skilled mechanics might take up permanent residence in the Kingdom and one half of the tax was to be remitted to them. Eight months was the period fixed for their sojourn in Portugal ; at the expiration of this time the State would provide them with ships for their departure at reasonable charges ; they would also be allowed to purchase all provisions and necessities. Those who were found on Portuguese soil after eight months would be sold into slavery, as also all who failed to produce documentary evidence of having paid the stipulated charge for admission to the country ; thus considerably over twenty thousand Jewish families availed themselves of these terms. When the stipulated time had expired the King—like Edward I of England—insisted upon their humane treatment and safe conveyance to whatever destinations they chose, but the captains of the vessels set John's orders at defiance and indulged in the most feral and wanton atrocities at the expense of their passengers. Those who were either unable or unwilling to pay more than they had arranged were most grossly maltreated. A favourite ruse for the extortion of the last farthing from the wretched Jews was to unnecessarily prolong the voyage and refuse to land them at any port. As their supply of food was exhausted they forced them to purchase bread and water at the most monstrous rates. A handful of precious stones was in several instances exchanged for a meal. Many famished, hollow-cheeked, sunken-eyed wretches, whose wan figures and pinched faces betokened that they were rapidly perishing from sheer hunger, gave their clothes for a scanty meal and were then cast naked upon unhealthy islands to

succumb to the cold. It was very common to rob the emigrants of everything they possessed, and turn them adrift or set them upon African islands naked and hungry, leaving those who were not seized by the Moors and sold for slaves to perish from sheer hunger and cold. Young girls were violated before their parents' eyes, whilst men were shamefully and indecently exposed before their wives and daughters. One vessel was four months upon the open sea, for not a single port would hear of its admission. It was however, boarded and plundered by a pirate cruiser, which conveyed it to a Spanish port (Malaga.) Here they were prohibited from landing and, with a whimsical refinement of cruelty, also from setting sail in search of a more hospitable haven. Provisions they had none nor were any permitted to be supplied to them, for the Catholic clergy of Malaga had firmly resolved upon their being coerced into accepting Christianity ; a number of dying creatures who had been too weak to further withstand the horrible trials they were being subjected to, submitted to the terms, the acceptance of which the heartless priests had starved them into, but the great majority with unwavering firmness expressed themselves as resolutely determined to perish by hunger or thirst, if no other alternative than the renunciation of their creed was offered them. Touched by their pathetic unanimity and noble heroism, a few humane Malagese contrived to supply them with small pittances of bread and water, despite the orders of the clergy. After a two months' mission during which the starving crew of emaciated victims of Christian brutality had to listen to endless sermons exegetical expositions, and harangues in which the merits of Jesus Christ and his apostles were extolled, the disheartened conversionists had no option but to permit the ship to put out to sea ; but no port would allow them to disembark, until at last one was found that was charitable enough to permit them to erect a few crude huts outside the town in some adjoining fields. Here they were again harried to accept Islamism. The Mohammedan measures of conversion were for once more drastic than those employed by the sectarians of the Cross at Malaga.

Many Jews who lingered in Portugal were, when apprised of the terrible barbarities perpetrated upon their kinsmen, too terrified to ship for abroad ; they were seized by order of the King immediately after the termination of the period of grace, and either sold to African slave dealers or presented to such of the Portuguese nobility as expressed themselves desirous of owning them. All Jewish children between the ages of three and ten were—so Dom John decreed—to be wrested from their parents and transported to the Island of St. Thomas, there to be instructed in, and brought up to the practice of the Christian

faith. This island was used as a prison for the most depraved and incorrigible criminals in Portugal on account of its being full of alligators, wild and ravenous beasts, poisonous snakes, lizards, and every species of venomous reptiles. Agonised fathers rent their clothes, and tore out their beards in their frantic lamentations, mothers wept till the poignancy of their grief might have filled a stone with sympathy, children vainly implored not to be severed from their parents ; but the inhuman monster who sat on the throne of Portugal was oblivious to all considerations of mercy or justice. A callous scion of a callous dynasty, one of a heartless race of Jew-burners, infidel extirpators, what was the cry of women and children or the anguish of fathers against religion and state-craft ? Should compassion warp the mind of a Statesman ? Should Jews be pitied when they obstinately refused to relinquish the practice of their damnable superstitions? Many heart-broken women begged to be allowed to leave all and accompany their children. One wretched Jewess from whom seven children had been wrested hid herself in the vicinity of a Church and when the King came out of it, after hearing Mass, after praying to his God for mercy, flung herself wildly at his feet and bathed them with her tears madly entreating him to restore her one of them, even the youngest. The infamous brute laughed boisterously and directed his men-at-arms to instantly drag the disconsolate woman out of his sight. This was done to the delight of the interested onlookers. Some mothers baulked the Church of its prey by dashing out the brains of their children against walls, others bound them to their breasts and leaped into the water or fled into the mountainous districts where they hid till they died from cold or starvation.

John's successor, Don Emmanuel, received the daughter of Ferdinand and Isabella in marriage upon undertaking to expel from his country all Jews and Mohammedans ; this was an express and explicit condition imposed by the royal parents of the bride and eagerly insisted upon by their daughter. "I will never," she wrote to her Kingly lover, "set foot in Portugal till the land has been cleansed from its accursed Jews." King Emmanuel had no option but to give effect to their wishes and his promise by decreeing that all Jews, even those resident in his Kingdom from birth, and whose families had been established for centuries, as well as Moors should, within ten months quit the country or forfeit their lives; after their execution their properties and goods were to become the possessions of the informers. The lengthy respite of ten months had been granted because the King was loth to permit so much learning, wealth, and industry to quit his shores and he moreover hoped for huge baptismal results.

He was however greatly mortified to see the widespread preparations for departure ; the Jews everywhere evinced an unmistakable determination to leave home and fatherland rather than turn craven and recreant to their creed. He, on the advice of his minsters, resolved to direct a blow against them which would leave them no option but that of receiving Christianity. This plan was to secretly kidnap all the children of Jewish parents who had not passed their fourteenth year and convey them to the Churches where they were to be baptized by force. Delighted with his scheme he issued clandestine orders to all municipal authorities April (1498), commanding them to enter the houses of the Jews resident in the town under the administration, drag their children from before the eyes of their parents and carry them to the font. A few Jews surmising that some sinister plot was in progress sought protection in flight. This information coming to the royal ears enraged Emmanuel so deeply, that he ordered the instant and public carrying out of his decree ; those to whom the execution of the monstrous mandate had been entrusted did not scruple to over-obey him by arresting all under twenty one, thus thousands of youths and maidens were seized. The emissaries of the Crown were bathed in the tears and deafened by the moans of the inhabitants of the Jewish quarter. The children had to be severed from their parents by sheer violence ; the parents had to be chased off with rods and whips so fiercely did they cling to their offspring whom they would never more see. Some goaded into madness, threw their sons and daughters into wells, battered their brains out against walls, or strangled them, finally destroying themselves. The learned Bishop Osorio, who was an eye witness of what he relates, says, "Emmanuel's order could not be executed without causing the most affecting scenes. It was a horrid and wretched spectacle to see tender children torn from the arms and breasts of their distressed mothers, and fathers, dragged about to force them from their arms. To hear the cries, sighs, groans, lamentations, and female shrieks that filled the air was dreadful. These wretched mortals were doomed to suffer further calamity and misery. Those who were desirous of quitting a country where they had met such barbarous treatment were not permitted. The King was so determined on making converts of this people that he resolved to induce them by rewards, or compel them by necessity to embrace Christianity." Another contemporary ecclesiastic and historian tells us that :—"Many were dragged to the font by the hair and many fathers robed in sackcloth, with dejected heads and with cries of anguish accompanied their children to the Altar to protest against these unjust and inhuman baptisms." Isaac Ibn Zachira, one

of the most learned and influential Jews in Portugal, a man of vast wealth and great piety, slew his children with his own hand and then took his life. With the exception of the few children whose heart-rending cries had so melted some good Christians, that they mercifully hid them in their cellars, every Jewish child in the kingdom of Portugal was either baptized by the King's orders or slain by its parents. The juvenile sectarians of Christ received monastic names and were transported to strange towns there to forget that they had ever been Jews. Blood-curdling stories of agonised parents and distraught children are told by historians who witnessed these atrocities. Don Emmanuel's next move was to recall his promise permitting the Jews to quit Portugal from the three ports, Lisbon, Oporto, and Setubal, and allow them no other place of departure than Lisbon ; but he did not issue his countermanding and ignoble order until within a few days of the expiration of the period allotted to them, thus compelling all in readiness for departure—they having already purchased vessels and provisions at Oporto and Setubal—to set out for Lisbon and rendering their emigration by the stipulated time a practical impossibility. They were now obliged to return to the capital from all parts of the country and Lisbon became so crowded with them that they were like sheep in a pen. The motive for reducing the number of ports of embarkation by the inhuman and wily Emmanuel was that by compelling all to come to Lisbon the limited time would expire, numbers would be unable to leave and thus forfeit their freedom. To render their helplessness more crushing and disheartening, Emmanuel gave covert orders to his officers to oppress and harass the Jews by granting them inadequate—and often no—lodgings and food ; thus many were compelled to sleep on the highways. In fine the King made their departure before the fateful October, 1497 a rank impossibility. The Jews, who had already experienced so many vicissitudes, steadfastly assured their Christian tormentors that they were prepared to suffer every imaginable affliction rather than relinquish their race and their creed. Twenty thousand Jews were assembled in Lisbon. Immediately the prescribed day of grace had passed the royal officers seized the vast majority of this number who had been unable to depart, and dragged them into a huge barrack called the Os Estaos, which had been previously greatly enlarged for their reception. They were locked up in different stalls, the majority of which were used as cattle lairs. Here they were informed that they were now slaves of the Crown and that their royal owner could do with them whatever he deemed expedient ; but he was merciful and only wished to release them from their darkness and save them from the future punishments

that would be meted out to them if they did not repent of their wicked disbelief in God. "Only confess the Christian creed," said he, "and I will lavish both wealth and riches upon you, but reject my offer and you will see how I can steel my heart and have you punished, then baptized and assured of salvation." This offer having been firmly, and with the exception of a small number, who seceded from their invulnerable fellow-sufferers, unanimously refused, he ordered that they should be starved for three days. Previous to the enforcement of this tyrannical order they had daily received a most scanty and carefully measured pittance of bread and water, yet their indomitable spirits remained unbroken, and, though many miserably perished during the three awful days of starvation, large numbers still held out. Some who were unconscious muttered in their delirium, as if addressing their persecutors, and declared themselves determined to cling to Judaism at all hazards. Frightful indeed were the scenes that transpired ; fathers saw their children die from sheer starvation, praying to God for a piece of bread or a single drop of water. Priests clad in sumptuous vestments stood outside the stalls and heartlessly derided their bitter sufferings. Children saw their dead parents dragged out of the barracks by the feet and trailed along the ground like infectious carrion to be flung into an unhallowed grave into which numbers of corpses were hourly thrown ; yet many stood out.

The scoundrel Emmanuel, finding all these fearful outrages against God and Man inutile, lost all self control, and in a moment of awful fury ordered the Jews to be dragged from their prison church, some were dragged by ropes, others chased along with whips, the most obstinate were seized by the hair of the head or the beard. Many Jews, seeing escape from baptism impossible, voluntarily maimed themselves by rushing upon the roofs of the houses and flinging themselves upon the ground. Others eluding the vigilance of their guards strangled themselves or leaped into wells.

The corpses of these suicides were burnt to terrify the survivors. The few who escaped baptism with unbroken limbs and their religion uninjured regarded it as a merciful interposition of God. Numbers of Jews who had during the awful persecution of Emmanuel professed Christianity were being continually tortured for having negligently shown that they gave secret adherence to Judaism, or in other words, had been too unskilful to conceal their attachment to that Law from which all civilized religion is derived. Several Rabbins, who had staunchly refused to receive baptism were singled out for special and frightful punishment. They were sentenced to be walled up to the neck between the church walls and deprived of everything but a little

water, to be given each day in stipulated quantity ; for three days they were to remain in this fearful position and none were to release them. At the end of this fiendish ordeal they—on recovering consciousness—were found to be unwavering in their conviction and prepared to suffer any death however cruel. Simon Maimi and three other Portuguese Rabbis of equal repute, (who it was thought would, if converted, impel the others to follow their example,) were then stretched on the rack, but finding that they were immutable they were ordered to be racked to death, and expired in heart-rending agonies. A sworn band of secret Jews boldly exhumed the corpse of the poor Rabbin and conveyed it to a Jewish cemetery. Here in the dead of night the cloaked men laid their leader to rest with Hebrew rites. Had they been discovered, the gory hands of the Church would have laid them by the side of Maimi. The remaining Rabbis all met violent deaths at the hands of Christianity.

Ten years later great numbers of new Christians had—imagining the Dominican zeal to be relaxed—taken less than their usual precaution and thus forfeited the lives of themselves and the remaining secret Jews of Lisbon. They were detected celebrating the Passover in their inmost chambers, a keen watch having been set. Amongst those discovered were many who were considered to be exemplary Catholics, regularly attending mass, frequently going to confession and wearing crucifixes. To add to the certainty of their fate the populace of Lisbon had been wrought into a state of dangerous fanaticism through the priestly fraud of a Dominican, who exhibited in Church a crucifix with a piece of dark coloured glass in its side ; upon this a light, skilfully concealed, had been made to play. The glass was supposed to represent the wound in the side of Jesus caused by a spear thrust, and the Virgin Mary, it was believed had appeared in a glow of fire. "A Miracle ! A Miracle !" cried the people. This occurred on the Sunday following the Passover (April 19th, 1506.) One man among the assembly smiled and satirically observed that as it was a period of great drought it would have been both more beneficial and providential to all concerned had the Virgin chosen to manifest herself by water. His remark cost him his life for the crowd recognising the speaker to be a Marrano dragged him from the church to the market place and put him to death ; a similar fate befel his brother, who stood loudly and disconsolately weeping over his body which was ultimately burnt. A monk in the church of St. Domingo mounted the pulpit and implored the people to fall upon and slaughter the "New Christians," who he assured those assembled, heartily despised Christianity, derided its sacred mysteries and were

guilty of secret adhesion to Judaism. Two other Dominicans collected a crowd and with cries of "Heresy! Heresy!" offered, crucifix in hand, an indulgence of a hundred days from the flames of Purgatory to every Christian who would kill a Jew or a Marrano. A number of foreign vessels were then lying in the Tagus and troops of Dutch, French and Danish sailors thirsting for blood and spoil, joined the rabble of Lisbon, and determined to massacre the Jews. They were again addressed by a monk who cried out that it was that accursed race alone, who were responsible for the deadly pestilence that was causing so much havoc in Portugal in 1506. The origin of all the misfortunes of Portugal and of Europe were traced to these "blasphemers of the Holy Mother of God, who publicly appear, missal in hand, and cross themselves; but in secret pray in the accursed phylacteries." This was enough, the mob, goaded into roaring frenzy, was headed by John Mocho and Fratre Bernardo, both monks of the order of St. Dominic, who fiercely incited the rabble of at least 10,000 degraded and cruel ruffians to the most disgraceful deeds.

Llorente, a secretary to the Court of Blood, says of this massacre, (Critical History of the Inquisition) :—"They slew and mangled their victims casting many while still alive into the fires the negroes and vilest rabble had kindled at the church doors to which they kept constantly adding fuel. On the Monday the numbers of the mob were considerably increased from the surrounding villages; the massacre and butchery of the new Christians was continued, their houses were broken open, whole families being murdered. The merciless wretches dashed out the brains of infants against the walls; pregnant women were thrown from the windows on the pikes of those below; women were outraged and virgins violated, such were the horrors committed in the capital of Portugal on that day. One woman fearlessly drew from the belt of a monk a knife he carried and when he attempted to outrage her, she stabbed him in the heart. On the Tuesday the deeds of horror were renewed; the mob were equally eager for blood and plunder but were almost exhausted. All who were discovered were murdered; many Christians only from resembling Jews were sacrificed; private animosities eagerly seized the opportunity of wreaking vengeance. Sanctuaries were desecrated and the poor suppliants were dragged from the crucifixes they embraced to be immolated with the others. Plunder was not lost sight of; the sailors took their booty on board their vessels, weighed anchor, and sailed away from the port. Thus for three days Lisbon was completely in the hands of a lawless infuriated populace."[1]

(1.) Cited by Lindo.

This terrible description, eloquent as it is, only adumbrates the horrors of these three horrid days when Alecto spread her bloody Pallium over the sunny soil of Lusitania. Men went from house to house seeking Marranos in every nook.

Numbers of men and women, boys and girls, were dragged out of barns and cellars where they had vainly hoped to conceal themselves, others had hid in garrets, outhouses, stables, on roofs and every place where they might for a few brief moments delay the doom which was so inevitable. The methods of butchery were varied according to the predominant caprice of the different parties, who were industriously scouring the town for Jews ; but the instant one was discovered, it mattered not, however aged and grief stricken, or however young and terrified, a horrible death was the invariable sequence. Some Jews who had thought to save themselves by flight to Christian Churches were seized and tortured to death in a manner positively revolting. Altogether three thousand and some hundred victims perished during these terrible days of butchery.

To follow the chequered career of the secret Jews in Portugal must as in Spain form part of our task in the chapters on the Holy Office in "The Jews of Fifteenth Century Spain and Portugal." It would be a matter of absolute impossibility to sketch even meagrely so intricate and diffuse a theme in so brief a chapter.

JAMES LIGHTOWLER, PRINTER, 32, SCALE LANE, HULL.

DS141 .P35
Twelve centuries of Jewish persecution
Princeton Theological Seminary–Speer Library
1 1012 00055 3968